

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Expanding the reach of
revolutionary books

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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Dockworkers demand: 'No gov't union busting'

West Coast rallies oppose bosses' and White House threats

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

LONG BEACH, California—Marching through downtown Long Beach August 12, some 2,000 longshore workers chanted, "Contract Yes! Government Intervention No!" Another 1,000 workers in San Francisco and 1,500 in Seattle marched and rallied the same day, along with hundreds of others at ports up and down the West Coast.

The coast-wide day of action was sponsored by the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Locals Coast Negotiating Committee and the national AFL-CIO. The union flyer publicizing the August 12 actions highlighted two key demands: "Get the Administration Out of ILWU Negotiations!" and "No Government Union-Busting!"

The members of the ILWU sent a clear message to the bosses' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) that they are opposed to the companies' antiunion drive to impose concessions on the workforce. The PMA represents the West Coast shipping and stevedoring companies.

With the actions the union also sent a message to the Bush administration, which last week publicly said it is considering using strike-breaking Taft-Hartley legislation and other measures against the longshore union.

In addition to the large outpouring of union dockworkers, several small contingents of workers from unions in the Los Angeles area participated in the rally.

With the White House threatening to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act, the stakes in the



Led by the union drill squad, members and supporters of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union rally August 12 in Oakland, California.

labor dispute have reached new highs.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, government officials told the union negotiating committee that the White House has also discussed "moving to break up the

union's coast-wide bargaining unit or backing legislation that would restrict the union's ability to call a strike."

The Taft-Hartley Act has not been used
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Gov't: Jailed citizen has no right to lawyer

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The Justice Department has rejected a federal court order to turn over documents supporting its claim that a U.S. citizen it has jailed without charges is an "enemy combatant" and outside of protections of the U.S. Constitution.

The court ruling is one of several in which the Justice Department has run into legal challenges to its attempts to steamroll the Bill of Rights. In legal briefs the government is arguing that the courts have no right to see the documentation, nor review the decisions of the executive branch in war-related cases. The Justice Department says "wartime" powers give it and the military the right to conduct secret trials and deportations, and to jail U.S. citizens without charging them.

In separate rulings in early August, two courts did not accept the government's

cases. On August 2 a federal judge in Washington ordered the Justice Department to release the names of more than 1,200 people detained since September 11, 2001. The judge said the information was essential in verifying the government is operating "within the bounds of the law." None of

those arrested have been charged with any acts of violence.

The Justice Department issued a statement saying that the ruling "impedes one of the most important federal law enforcement investigations in history, harms our

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Workers in Buenos Aires occupy garment factory in fight for jobs

BY ROMINA GREEN
AND MARTÍN KOPPEL

BUENOS AIRES, Argentina—"It's refreshing to know that in the United States there are others like us who are fighting," said Liliana Torale with a smile. Torale, one of 50 workers who have been occupying the

Brukman sewing plant here since December, was speaking to two visiting socialist workers from the United States. She and several of her co-workers told the story of their own fight as they asked the visitors about the struggles of working people in the United States.

The workers at Brukman occupied the plant to oppose the company's layoff plans and demand payment of back wages. They are demanding that since the owners claim bankruptcy, the government take over the plant to guarantee their jobs. In the meantime, workers are running the plant themselves, continuing to produce men's suits and selling them to the bosses' customers.

The struggle at Brukman takes place at a time when depression conditions in Argentina are devastating workers and farmers. Over the past months, employers have tried to cushion their losses by carrying out mass layoffs and plant shutdowns. In May and June alone some 140,000 workers were fired. The official unemployment rate has shot up to 22 percent, with a similar number underemployed. Despite a weak re-

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U.S., Israel set stage for two-front Mideast war

BY PATRICK O'NEILL
AND JACK WILLEY

As Washington prepares a new war aimed at overthrowing the government of Iraq and capturing control of major oil reserves in the Middle East, the Israeli government of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is setting the stage for a major new assault on the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip under cover of the planned U.S. ground invasion.

During the U.S.-led war against Iraq in 1990-91, Washington forced Tel Aviv to the sidelines, refusing to give the Israeli air force the friend-or-foe codes necessary to put warplanes in the air over Iraq. And it made the Israeli rulers accept near-daily bombardment by Iraqi scud missiles without direct air retaliation.

The new confrontation is shaping up differently. There is no reason to believe that with the evolution of the fighting Washington will oppose an Israeli military response if threatened by Iraq or another country. The U.S. war will provide the colonial settler state the opportunity to escalate its drive against the Palestinians, even pursuing the long-held goal of pushing them into Jordan.

A victory in such a two-front war by the
Continued on Page 15

Dockworkers snatch up 'Militant' and books

BY OLYMPIA NEWTON

LOS ANGELES—Socialist workers and young socialists on the West Coast have sold 201 copies of the *Militant* and some \$230 in communist literature to longshore workers in the first five days of a campaign to reach out to the brewing struggle on the docks.

The campaign, which began August 9, has drawn socialists from Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and Vancouver, British Columbia, to the docks, union dispatching halls, check-cashing places, lines of port drivers waiting to pick up and deliver cargo, and to rallies to meet and talk with longshore workers. The goal adopted by the socialists of selling 200 copies of the *Militant* to

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Join a weekend of volunteer work at the Pathfinder Building New York City - August 24-25

Join in two days of collective work as part of the process of transforming the production of revolutionary books and literature, as well as the offices of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, that working people around the world need more each day. The weekend's activities will be the next stage in transforming the Pathfinder Building, making more effective the work of the international communist movement.

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The program will feature talks on steps forward in the communist movement reaching out to continuing opportunities among workers and youth. To be followed by a party.

For more information call: Brooklyn (718) 567-8014, Garment District (212) 695-7358, Upper Manhattan (212) 740-4611, Newark (973) 481-0077 or see listing on page 14.

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Garment workers strike to win back job of union supporter

BY MARK HAMM

OAKLAND PARK, Florida — Responding to the latest in a series of arbitrary firings by bosses at Point Blank Body Armor, garment workers walked off the job August 9 to protest the firing of Midho Cadet, a pro-union worker.

Workers at the plant are fighting to win recognition for the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE). Point Blank Body Armor employs 375 people and is one of the major garment shops in the area. The company makes bulletproof vests and riot gear that is sold to the U.S. military and police forces.

When the plant reopened after the weekend, those on strike were chanting, "So, So, So, Solidarity" in three languages to encourage workers to join the walkout.

"I feel it, I see it, the union is here!" work-

ers chanted in Spanish. The plant manager stood at the gate, flagging cars through the picket line with the help of the Broward County Sheriff's office. Police harassed and threatened the union supporters who were trying to persuade co-workers not to go into the plant.

The majority of workers didn't go in; they pulled their cars into makeshift parking spaces outside the plant gate and jumped out to swell the picket lines. By the end of the day about 200 workers wearing union hats and T-shirts were mobilized outside the plant. Union organizers estimated about 130 remained on the job.

Cadet is the third worker fired since July 18, when a delegation of eight workers, backed by hundreds more outside, urged the company to recognize the union based on overwhelming support in the workforce.



Workers at Point Blank Body Armor in Oakland Park, Florida, are fighting to win recognition for the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees.

The company responded by locking workers out for the rest of that day.

Union supporters cite long-standing grievances, such as low wages, poor working conditions, and abusive treatment by the bosses as what spurred them to wage the fight for union recognition. But it was the antiunion firings and threats of layoffs that prompted a strike.

"It happened like this," Cadet, who is Haitian, told the *Militant*. "On Thursday I visited the bathroom. When I returned two bosses said that I'd spent 10 minutes in there. This was not true. They suspended me for the rest of the day. When I came back to work the next morning, they gave me a paper saying I was fired. Word that I had been fired spread quickly and people were very upset. That's why we walked out."

Prudencio, originally from Michoacan, Mexico, said the company is "kicking us out one by one. They are trying to get rid of the union this way. We are here fighting because they treat us like prisoners inside the plant," Prudencio said. "It's worse than a jailhouse, because at least in jail they feed you." Many others described the plant as a prison.

Scott Cooper, a UNITE southern regional organizer, said the company "unfair labor practices" include the "illegal lockout, the termination of three workers, and a threat to move the work out of the plant. They have used the threat of layoff. They sent a letter August 2 accusing the workforce of a slow-down," Cooper said. "All of this has created an atmosphere of fear, intimidation, and threats—the most serious of which is the threat of a layoff."

On the picket line workers had plenty of time to discuss the reasons for the strike. "On our knees no more: on foot to fight," workers chanted in Spanish. One tireless sewing machine operator led a never-ending round of inventive slogans over the bullhorn.

Striker Ana Salazar said that in addition to ringing the factory with police squad cars on the day of the lockout, the company has put two armed guards in every department. "They pay the guards \$20 an hour. And they say we are violent," Salazar said.

"They have even begun checking us with metal detectors every time we enter the plant," she continued. "They didn't do this after September 11, but now they do, to fight the union. In reality, the only weapon we

have is our mouths to speak the truth." Police arrested one worker on the picket line, and accused her of blocking traffic.

After 22 years working as a nurse in Cuba, Salazar now works at the factory as an inspector, together with two of her sisters. One is helping to lead the union. The other was working inside the plant the first day of the strike. She is a victim, according to Salazar, of "a closed mind."

Several times workers walked out of the shop and joined the picket line, to great applause from the strikers. The second day of walkout, several workers who were intending to cross the picket line were convinced to join the strike.

Many workers were opposed to the actions of the cops, citing the letter of support they received from the police union supporting their fight. Other workers, were not surprised at all by the actions of the cops. "They lack respect and speak rudely to us. I'm afraid of the police in Miami," said one.

The strike has deep roots. "They should have given us a raise two years ago, after the union was defeated the first time—but they were stupid. That's why I say we are in for a long strike," said another sewing machine operator.

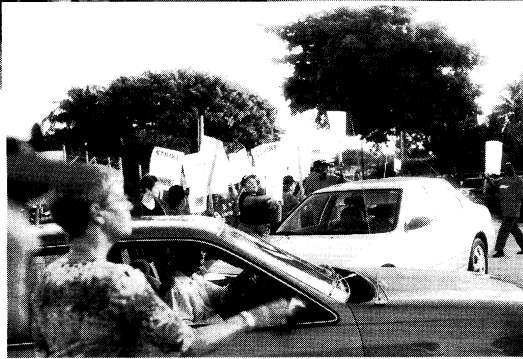
The strike has united workers from various nationalities. "We don't have any problems between Haitians and Hispanics," said Cadet. "We have problems with the bosses, whatever their nationality. They are all racist and prejudiced." Chants and placards are in three languages: Spanish, English and Creole.

Enrique has operated a computer cutting machine for six years at the company. He says he gets a little above average pay and is a U.S. citizen. But his motivation to fight is the same as the others: the conditions of work and company abuse. He told this reporter that out of the three countries he has lived in, workers have the least rights in the United States. In Cuba, he said, he had been active in the Sugar Workers union. But it really wasn't the same, he pointed out, because in Cuba the government supports the unions, while in the United States this isn't the case.

Jean-Jules took time from picket duty to tell the *Militant*, "We have a saying in Haiti, it's our national motto: *L'union fait la force*, or 'unity is strength.' That's why we are on strike."



Workers at Point Blank parked their cars and joined the picket line August 12 in front of the plant, despite the manager's attempt (right) to flag cars through the line with the help of the County Sheriff. By the end of the day about 200 workers, wearing union hats and T-shirts, were mobilized outside the factory.



THE MILITANT

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Fishermen demand new laws be carried out in Venezuela

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

CUMANÁ, Venezuela—The coast of the state of Sucre, in the northwestern part of this country, is dotted by picturesque bays and sandy beaches where tourism thrives. Driving along the coastal highway, the uninquiring eye could get a false picture of generalized prosperity. Among the towns and cities by the shore, however, fishermen and other exploited producers struggle for survival and their rights.

Here, in the capital of Sucre, about 300 miles west of Caracas, fishing is the main industry. Large companies—most owned by European and other capitalist monopolies—dominate the deep seas and, until recently, most of the fishing just off shore. At the same time, thousands of independent fishermen live in tin-roof shacks or other poor housing by the water and struggle to repair boats and other equipment and to market their catch above cost.

Tomás Blanca, a local leader of the National Bolivarian Command of Artisan Fishermen, invited *Militant* reporters to visit the

Democratic Action party, which alternated with a smaller conservative party, COPEI, in the federal government for decades until Hugo Chávez was elected president in 1998.

Blanca and a dozen other leaders of his organization from around the country were in Caracas for a July 16 meeting at the headquarters of what is called the “political command of the revolution.” That’s where the Bolivarian Circles—loose formations in neighborhoods, workplaces, and schools that carry out social and political tasks and organize defense guards—are nationally coordinated from.

The fishermen had gone there to voice their demand that a recently adopted law on fishing be carried out. The legislation was approved by the Chávez regime last November. The Law on Fishing and Aquaculture grants independent fishermen exclusive fishing rights up to six nautical miles offshore and grants small fishermen exclusive rights for the fishing of sardines and some other seafood and of all fishing in rivers and lakes inland. The measure sets guidelines

on the eastern end of this city.

Most houses have tin roofs and are built a few feet away from the water, with many fishing boats pulled up on the sand. Most of these fishermen have been unable to work over the last year or so because they can’t get loans to repair boat motors. Without motors, net fishing is mostly ruled out. Those whose boats are in good enough shape go line fishing.

“We are also squeezed by the middlemen,” said Yorbánis Bermúdez, 22, one of a fishing family of eight living in a three-room, tin-roof house. “We sell a 10-kilogram case (about 22 pounds) of striped mullet for 2,000 bolívares to these people on the market. That same case goes for 20,000 bolívares retail.” That was verified with a trip to the local fish market. [\$1=1,300 bolívares]. “We do all the work and the middlemen profit,” he said.

In the past, the larger fishing companies or the middlemen would lend the fishermen motors in exchange for receiving virtually the entire catch until they were paid off. “It costs 800,000 bolívares just to repair a motor,” said Tomás Blanca. “So we were slaves to these people, who would basically rob the fish for a year or more, with the help of the Coast Guard when needed. By the time we would pay off the motors, they would often be broken or in serious need of maintenance and parts, and no funds exist for repairs.” Blanca’s main fishing boat has been idled for the last year because of such a broken motor.

New limits for fishing offshore

The large fishing companies—about 30 of them in the Cumaná area, mostly owned by Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian companies, we were told—were also allowed by law to operate as close as three nautical miles off the coast. They often came as close as one mile offshore by paying off the Coast Guard, Blanca said. With their high-tech equipment they would often scoop up all the fish and leave almost nothing behind for the working fishermen.

“That’s why almost all the fishermen are *Chavistas*,” said Rommel Bermúdez, referring to those who support the president. Rommel is Yorbánis’s older brother and makes a living fishing part time and working construction jobs as well.

“The Coast Guard is not turning as much of a blind eye to their incursions at night closer to the coast line as they used to do,” Rommel Bermúdez added, “so there is now enough fish for us.”

The trouble is that nothing has been done to alleviate the squeeze on prices and lack of credit at interest rates that are tolerable, Blanca said. Under the new law, the government is supposed to provide 800 billion bolívares (about \$40 million) this year to allow the small fishermen to form cooperatives. The cooperatives would help provide financing for motors, refrigeration units, and other equipment so they can market their catch directly rather than having to sell through intermediaries.

“We are fighting here for such a co-op to be founded in this neighborhood,” Blanca said. He wasn’t sure whether this will materialize.

Workers employed on big boats

The fishermen said their support for the new fishing law is also based on measures it outlines to force the large fishing companies to pay the minimum wage of 175,000 bolívares per month (about \$150) and provide health coverage and other benefits to workers on the industrial boats.

“I have a brother-in-law who worked for one of those companies and used to make 50,000 bolívares per month,” said Marco Mutonari, another fisherman in the San Carlos barrio. “Now he makes triple that because of the new law. And he has health insurance.”

Many militant workers on these boats are still being fired indiscriminately when they speak up, these fishermen said. There can’t be great universal progress until they can form a union, which the bosses have been successful in preventing so far.

Blanca said bloody confrontations can be



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Standing by his broken motorboat is Tomás Blanca, a leader in Cumaná, Sucre State, of the National Bolivarian Command of Artisan Fishermen, a national organization of small fishing operators in Venezuela. The fishermen are fighting for the consistent implementation of the Law on Fishing and Aquaculture. The law is opposed by the large fishing concerns and by the bourgeois-led opposition to the Chávez government because it grants territorial fishing rights to independent fishermen.



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Fishermen in Cumaná involved in the fight for fishing rights and a living income

area to learn about the struggles of fishermen after meeting them in the capital Caracas.

The organization is the largest of those representing small fishermen in Venezuela today, Blanca said. Over the last two years, it has largely replaced the old union of fishermen in the leadership of the some 40,000 working fishermen nationwide. The latter group is controlled by the social democratic

for financial assistance to these exploited producers so they can get a living income. It also imposes higher taxes on capitalist fishing companies and standards that could improve conditions for workers employed on the industrial fishing boats.

Along with the Law on Land and Agricultural Development, the new law on fishing has been one of the most contentious measures of the Chávez regime. Democratic Action, COPEI, and other opposition parties in the country’s National Assembly have spearheaded a campaign to “reform” these measures since the failed military coup against Chávez in April. Representatives of capitalist fishing concerns have complained that the law is “discriminatory” against them, reacting most strongly to the unambiguous establishment of zones with exclusive fishing rights for independent fishermen.

Up to 50 percent unemployment

Luis Díaz Villaroel, national coordinator of the Bolivarian Command of Artisan Fishermen, said in a July 16 interview in Caracas that unemployment of up to 50 percent plagues small fishermen. “Nothing can be done to solve this to the end,” he stated, “as long as capitalism reigns.” Some 80 percent of these fishermen are illiterate, Villaroel added. His organization is demanding that students be mobilized to go to the villages, towns, and barrios in coastal cities to help teach people how to read and write. Such a project could also help establish a culture among youth of attending school to eliminate illiteracy. The government has not heeded this call so far, he said.

These conditions, and the struggle to change them, became more concrete during a July 20 visit to Cumaná. More than 1,500 fishermen and their families live in the San Carlos neighborhood, by the shore,

expected down the road as many of the promises in the new laws and government decrees remain words on paper and attempts to implement them are resisted violently by *los esqualidos*—“the squalid ones,” the popular designation for the bourgeois opposition to Chávez.

“With Chávez, or without Chávez, the process that we started in 1998 must go on,” said Villaroel.

The Bermúdez brothers said the illiteracy problem presents a big challenge in organizing the fishermen and in their everyday life. Their father, Francisco Roque, is among those who never learned how to read or write. This is not just a problem that keeps the cultural level down, these fishermen pointed out, but has a practical impact. “We never let Francisco go to the market to sell the fish we catch,” Rommel Bermúdez said. “The sharks on the fish market know he can’t read and will rob him more when they do the accounting.”

But the problem extends to younger generations. While all four Bermúdez brothers had gone to school, many other kids in the fishing communities are forced to skip classes. These children grow up working at sea. Their energy is needed to row the boats, especially in the absence of working motors, so there is no time for school.

Learning about the Cuban Revolution

Delia Bermúdez, Rommel and Yorbánis’s mother, said she has heard from several Cuban physical education teachers and doctors who have been living in the area the last two years that Cuba eliminated illiteracy quickly after the 1959 revolution that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista.

“I don’t know exactly how they did it, but that’s what we need here,” she said. These Cuban volunteers are in the country as part of an assistance program by the Cuban government to Venezuela and many other semicolonial countries. A strikingly high number of fishermen and other rural toilers spoke highly of the Cuban volunteers.

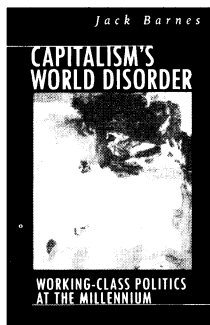
Tomás Blanca and many other leaders of his organization said they have concluded that what they are fighting for cannot be realized without a social revolution. Ana Bejarano is an economist who works with the national leadership of Blanca’s group in Caracas. She had recently been to Cuba on the invitation of the Federation of University Students. “I am convinced,” she said in a July 16 interview, reflecting statements made by other leaders of the fishermen’s struggle, “that what we need here is a revolution like in Cuba.”

from Pathfinder

Capitalism’s World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium

BY JACK BARNES

“The capitalist rulers offer us social disaster. They offer us depression. They offer us death from curable disease. They offer us war. They offer us fascism. They offer us an unending list of horrors. But we offer ourselves the ability to prevent those horrors from becoming the final reality, the confidence that we can transform that future.”



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Buenos Aires garment workers occupy and run plant, demand gov't guarantee jobs

Continued from front page

sponse by the top union officialdom, which backs the Peronist government of Eduardo Duhalde, many workers have engaged in fights to oppose the layoffs and other attacks on their livelihoods.

A banner hanging in front of the six-story Brukman garment factory declares, "*Trabajo para todos: ni un desocupado más*" (Jobs for all: not one more unemployed person). Other banners read: "Workers at Brukman fight for nationalization under workers control" and "Producing and selling."

On the evening of July 18, the plant was a hive of activity. A group of workers was on guard duty inside the entrance. Visiting delegations were coming and going. Among those bringing solidarity were workers from a local unemployed organization and from the Zanón ceramic tile plant in the city of Neuquén. A few customers arrived to purchase clothes. Members of a neighborhood assembly were holding a meeting on one of the factory floors.

Employer offensive

Torale, who began as a janitor seven years ago and now works both selling the products and as a sewer, gave *Militant* reporters a tour of the factory, which includes cutting, pressing, and sewing departments. The big majority of the workers are women between the ages of 40 and 65. Many are immigrants from Paraguay, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile. Those born in Argentina are mostly from impoverished northern provinces such as Formosa, Misiones, and Jujuy.

Workers explained how the bosses had been on a stepped-up offensive since 1998—driving down wages by slashing piece rates, intensifying production, and increasing the abuse by supervisors. They discriminated against the foreign-born workers, refusing to recognize their elected union delegate, who is Bolivian.

Nilda Bustamante, a worker with nine years' service who is originally from Jujuy, works in the pants section. There, she said, 27 workers produced 400 pairs of pants a day. Including the overtime, they would earn 400–500 pesos every two weeks. Over the past few years the boss, pleading financial trouble, began delaying the payment of their wages, handing them \$100 and claiming he would fork up the difference later. In the weeks leading up to the takeover, they were receiving even less.

On the night of December 17 came the straw that broke the camel's back. Once again the workers did not receive their promised paychecks. "One boss made fun of us," Bustamante said. "He told us, 'There's no money. What do you expect us to do—withdraw our money from abroad to pay you?' Remembering that still makes me mad." On the spot, a group of 20 furious workers decided to stay in the plant. The next morning, when the rest of their co-workers came in, they decided to take over the plant. Over the preceding months many of them had been discussing whether to take such action.

The occupation coincided with Argentina's accelerated economic collapse and the mass demonstrations of December 18–20 that forced the resignation of President Fernando de la Rúa.

The first few weeks were especially hard. The top officials of the national garment workers union, SOIVA, affiliated to the General Labor Confederation (CGT), refused to back their fight and told them to end their occupation. The workers at Brukman didn't know who to turn to for support. Nonetheless, 50 of the 115 workers decided to stick it out. They began to receive help from other workers in the industrial district. Neighborhood residents would bring them food. The workers began to go out onto the street to appeal for solidarity.

"At first, our relatives didn't like what we were doing," Bustamante said. "My mother, who lives up north in Jujuy, would call me and say, 'Don't get yourself arrested.' My husband didn't want to have anything to do with this. Now he and both my children understand and support me."

'Not so hard to run the plant'

The bosses, who were cocky at first and thought the workers would never dare take over the plant, or last more than a few weeks when they did, became increasingly concerned. They called the police to evict the workers. Early on March 16, dozens of cops burst into the factory, physically assaulting one worker. The garment workers called their supporters in the area. Working people nearby and members of the neighborhood assembly began to gather outside the factory. By the late afternoon, a judge had intervened and ordered the police to back off.

"We've learned a lot over the past months," Torale said. "The boss used to whine about how difficult it was to run the plant. But once



Militant/Martin Koppel; Inset, Romina Green

Militant reporter and garment worker Romina Green (left) speaks with Liliana Torale at Brukman garment plant in Buenos Aires. After the bosses claimed they had no money for wages and threatened layoffs, workers took over the plant, won support, and have continued production themselves. Inset, banners hanging in front of the six-story factory. The one on the bottom says, "Jobs for all: not one more unemployed person."

we took it over, we realized it really wasn't so hard to run it. All those people with ties and who were paid a lot more than us are not even needed," she explained.

Workers began looking through some of the company's financial books and found the bosses hadn't been complying with their obligation to make payments into the retirement fund but instead were keeping the funds themselves.

Torale explained that the workers have not only managed to continue production but have regained most of the bosses' former customers. They are proud of the high quality standards they have been able to maintain through their collective efforts.

Workers at Brukman organize their own quality control, elect their section leads, and enforce their own work discipline. Everyone is expected to be on time and give notification if they have to leave work early. Workers assemblies are held weekly.

Pole of attraction

Their fight has become a pole of attraction for workers around Argentina. "Every day we get visits from other workplaces.

We've even received visitors from other countries like Brazil," Torale reported.

To win broader support, workers at Brukman put out the newspaper *Nuestra Lucha* (Our Struggle) in collaboration with workers at the Zanón plant, who are engaged in a similar struggle that is also at the forefront of the working-class resistance in Argentina today.

Workers described to their U.S. visitors how Argentina's economic situation has gone from bad to worse over the past months. Since the government devalued the country's currency, the peso has lost 70 percent of its value in relation to the U.S. dollar. Bread and milk have doubled in price. Meat, formerly a staple in this beef-producing country, is a luxury for working people. "We eat less now," Torale said.

Workers described how foreign investors are bleeding Argentina dry. Referring to the country's \$140 billion national debt, the bulk of which is owed to foreign banks, Torale said, "The external debt—we call it the eternal debt. There is no way we can pay it. The United States dictates everything—they might as well come and plant their damn flag here." She rejected the government's solution of more loans. "If the IMF [International Monetary Fund] gives us more loans, we'll just be deeper in debt."

Torale added that they have learned about others facing similar problems who are also resisting. "Here you have the *piqueteros* [protesting unemployed workers], the university students who can't afford to go to school, the retirees who face a dire situation—we're all in the same situation."

Interest in conditions in U.S.

After relating their story, a group of six workers on guard duty at the plant entrance asked the two socialist workers from the United States about conditions in the United States. They were surprised to learn about the effects of the U.S. employers' drive to lower wages, extend the work day, gut working conditions, and cut health insurance and other social benefits. They were particularly stunned to hear about the worsening conditions facing clothing workers like themselves, as described by Romina Green, a garment worker in New York. "And some of us were even thinking about moving to the United States—I'm not sure about that anymore," one worker replied, as others laughed.

The garment workers were delighted to hear about the giant inflatable rats that follow the construction workers in New York who are campaigning to organize the Carpenters and Laborers unions at construction sites. When we showed them *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* and *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*, books by Jack Barnes, they were especially interested in the photo sections depicting struggles by U.S. workers and farmers. One photo in *Perspectiva Mundial* article that caught their attention showed a picket line outside the closed Forever 21 plant in Los Angeles. The garment workers are waging a fight for the back pay they are owed.

Polisario Front pushes back 'autonomy' plan

BY ANNALUCIA VERMUNT

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand—The United Nations Security Council unanimously passed a resolution July 30 extending the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) through January 2003, and calling for a "political solution which will provide self-determination for the people of Western Sahara."

At an earlier meeting in February the council had considered four options for the future of the nation, including a proposal by James Baker. Baker is a former U.S. secretary of state and is currently UN secretary general Kofi Annan's special envoy to Western Sahara. Baker had proposed that the Western Sahara remain under Moroccan rule and granted some measure of "autonomy." The Moroccan king, supported by his imperialist backers in London, Paris, and Washington, pushed for Baker's plan, but failed to win agreement from the other members of the Security Council.

The Polisario Front, the organization that has led the independence struggle in Western Sahara, viewed the decision as a victory over attempts by the regime in Rabat to legitimize its occupation of Western Sahara.

The Sahrawi people have been fighting foreign occupation of their territory for decades. A growing independence struggle in the Western Sahara against Spanish colonial rule forced Madrid to withdraw from the area in 1975. The Spanish imperialists engineered an invasion and occupation of the land by the neighboring Mauritanian and Moroccan regimes. Tens of thousands of Sahrawis were driven from their homes by the occupation forces and into refugee

camps in the middle of the Algerian desert. Four years later, Mauritania—facing a financially draining guerrilla war by Sahrawi liberation fighters led by the Polisario Front—withdrawed from the territory it controlled and recognized the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR).

The guerrilla war between the Polisario Front and the Moroccan regime continued through 1991 when the United Nations brokered a cease-fire between Rabat and the Polisario Front. The accord included an agreement to allow Sahrawis living in the occupied part of their country, in the liberated zones, and the refugee camps located across the border in Algeria to vote in a referendum over their sovereignty. The monarchy, with United Nations complicity, has refused to allow the referendum to take place.

Today Morocco still occupies two thirds of Western Sahara, including the phosphate mine at Bu Craa, the entire coastline, and nearly all of the arable land. The phosphate deposit—a major source of income for the Moroccan rulers—is one of largest in the world.

Sahrawis gain support

The Sahrawi people and their government continue to win international solidarity with their struggle.

Heads of state at the founding of the African Unity in Durban, South Africa, in early July, reaffirmed their support for Sahrawi self-determination. A representative of the SADR was appointed as a member of the union's executive body and serves as one of the union's five vice presidents. The Moroccan regime, which was not a mem-

ber of the AU's predecessor, the Organization of African Unity, did not participate in the Durban meeting.

A month earlier members of the Union of Youth of the Polisario Front met with the Youth of Moroccan Democrats (YMD) in Paris. According to *Western Sahara Weekly News*, the YMD called for working "for the right to self-determination for the peoples of the Maghreb, the right to peace, to liberty, to justice and to democracy." The Maghreb is the territory of northwest Africa that includes Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia, and Western Sahara. The Polisario youth said the meeting represented a starting point for further discussion between the two organizations.

Within the occupied territory of Western Sahara resistance has continued against the monarchy. Representatives from the area took part in the first national congress of the Forum for Truth and Justice—an organization representing victims of the Moroccan regime—held in Casablanca, June 16–18. Seventy-nine people were elected to its national council including five from Western Sahara.

The *Western Sahara Weekly News* reported that 20 Sahrawi youth in the Skikima area of El Aaiun marked the anniversary of formation of the SADR May 17 with a militant demonstration, carrying torches and Molotov cocktails and setting up barricades of burning tires.

In the village of Asrir, where a public protest was repressed last October, SADR flags and pro-independence leaflets pronouncing "independence through peace or war" and "the whole country or martyrdom" were

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U.S. banks face downgrade in credit ratings

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Debt rating agency Standard & Poor's announced August 7 that it would not take "much more bad news" for it to lower its negative rating on J.P. Morgan Chase & Co. Inc. "We're watching Citigroup Inc. closely," added S&P analyst Tanya Azarch to CBS MarketWatch.

The stocks of both banking institutions, which are among the largest in the United States and the world, have plummeted over the course of the year. Citigroup's stock has fallen by as much as 38 percent and J.P. Morgan's has lost about 34 percent. By comparison, the benchmark Standard & Poor's index of 500 stocks dropped about 25 percent so far this year.

The plunge in stock market prices—with the Dow Jones off by 30 percent and the Nasdaq by 75 percent since their peak in early 2000—together with the rising number of corporate bankruptcies, and decline in the U.S. economy have put the large banks "at risk." The collapse of one or two of the biggest U.S. banks would register a significant milestone in the downward slide of the world capitalist economy.

In a July 28 *New York Times* article aptly titled "Banks Are Havens (And Other Myths)," Gretchen Morgenson writes: "Since the bear market began in March 2000, investors have been told that even if the economy suffered, the risks of investing in bank stocks were far lower than they had been in the recession of 1990.... But a risk that the banks cannot expunge is the fear taking hold among investors that the nation's largest financial institutions were central to the financing of the stock market bubble that has burst so spectacularly."

Several major U.S. banks have been in the middle of the explosive expansion over the past several decades of speculative investments in highly leveraged securities, such as derivatives and hedge funds, reaching into the trillions of dollars. Such an investment scheme worked well while the capitalist economy was expanding along with the bubble in equity markets. However, as the economy has slowed, the massive debt structure that had been built up threatens to implode. The largest corporations and financial institutions find themselves unable to meet their obligations, posing the real danger that the entire banking and monetary system could collapse.

According to a study released by Moody's Investors Service, a total of 89 corporate bond issuers defaulted in the first

half of 2002 with bonds totaling \$64 billion. Twenty-one issuers defaulted on issues greater than \$1 billion each. Since the start of 2000, Moody's has downgraded the bonds of 126 companies to junk status.

Pointing to the high pace of defaults and the size and number of failures in the telecommunications sector globally, David Hamilton, the author of the study, observed that this "made the second quarter of 2002 one of the most severe periods of credit stress since the Depression of the 1930s."

AM Best, Moody's, and Standard & Poor's have also issuing warnings on the state of life insurance companies. AM Best says it has been "stress-testing" major insurers, after recently downgrading Allamerica Financial and American Equity Investment Life Insurance. Investment losses for major U.S. life insurance companies total \$23 billion so far this year, according to Moody's, which warned of downgrades in the near term for AIG, MetLife, Aegon USA, and Prudential Financial. Standard & Poor's revised its investment outlook on the life insurance industry from stable to negative.

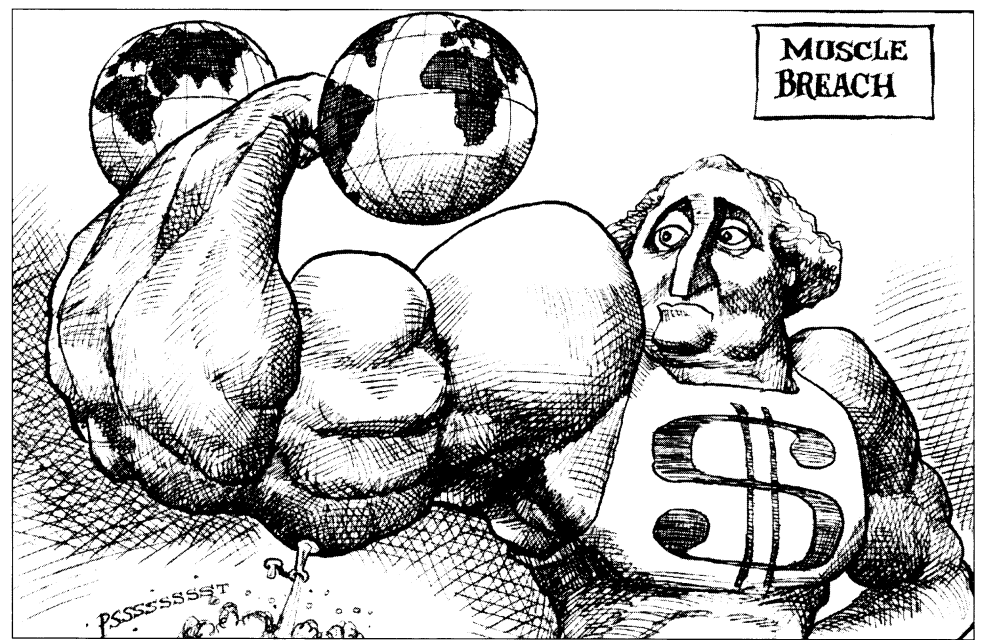
Commercial banks expand investments

In November 1999, then-president William Clinton signed the Financial Modernization Act, which repealed restrictions on banks under the Glass-Steagall Act. Glass Steagall had been put in place during the Great Depression in the 1930s and prohibited banks from affiliating with securities firms and insurance companies.

The Financial Modernization Act allowed commercial banks to compete with investment banks for the right to sell securities to investors. And the largest banks pursued most aggressively some of these high stake gambling operations with the funds depositors had placed in their savings and checking accounts.

J.P. Morgan Chase, for example, provided large loans to the now bankrupt Enron, Kmart, and Global Crossing. The bank has massive loans in Argentina and Brazil. In fact, according to the Loan Pricing Corporation, J.P. Morgan Chase is now the biggest lender to corporations, with mounting losses as bankruptcy filings by big companies rise.

Citigroup had also been involved in providing funds to Enron, and backed a \$12 billion bond offering by Worldcom in 2001. In an attempt to refurbish its image, Citigroup announced August 7 that it would



now start turning down deals that disguise debts from investors, and also account for employee stock options as an expense. J.P. Morgan Chase said that they would take steps "along the same lines."

The August 8 announcement by the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund that it would provide Brazil with a \$30 billion loan led to a one-day gain in Citicorp and J.P. Morgan stock of 7.6 percent and 9.7 percent respectively. And for good reason. U.S. banks have about \$25.6 billion in outstanding loans to Brazil, with Citigroup and FleetBoston accounting for close to \$20 billion of this. The IMF funds will be used to insure payments to the U.S. banks arrive on time and in full. Brazil's total external debt stands at \$264 billion.

Commercial banks consolidated

The scope of such massive loans has expanded with the consolidation of the commercial banks. In the 1990s the number of commercial banks fell by 30 percent, while the 10 largest increased their share of loans and other industry assets from 26 percent to 45 percent. One of the biggest of these mergers was that of J.P. Morgan and Chase Manhattan in September 2000, linking millions of people's checking and savings accounts in Chase to the fortunes of J.P. Morgan.

J.P. Morgan Chase, with assets approaching \$700 billion, is one of the biggest players internationally in high risk, highly leveraged investments in the derivatives mar-

ket. Derivatives are essentially bets placed on the future rise or decline in the price of stocks, bonds, currencies, or other pieces of paper. They are legally binding agreements in which the party agrees to buy or sell a particular security at a future date at a specified price. The buying and selling of all kinds of derivatives has gone through a dramatic expansion during the 1990s. The total worldwide market value of derivatives exploded from \$20 trillion in 1995 to in excess of \$100 trillion today.

J.P. Morgan Chase accounts for more than 50 percent of the derivatives market within the United States. According to the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (OCC), as of Dec. 31, 2001, it had notional amounts of derivative contracts outstanding of \$23.5 trillion out of total derivatives of reporting banks of \$45.4 trillion. By comparison, the U.S. gross domestic product totals about \$10 trillion and total outstanding debt of all sectors comes to about \$19 trillion, with credit card debt as well as car and personal loans now up to \$1.7 trillion.

J.P. Morgan Chase's derivatives business, accounted for 15 percent to 20 percent of its earnings last year, according to Ruchi Madan, a stock analyst at Salomon Smith Barney. JPMorgan Partners, a venture capital subsidiary, has posted losses in five of the six quarters from mid-2000 through 2001. In fact J.P. Morgan Chase tried to minimize its losses in the last quarter of 2001 by betting on a decline in the Nasdaq 100, but the index rallied at the end of the year.

With billions of dollars owed by companies that have filed for bankruptcy, and a growing number of other companies near the brink, banks have been cutting back on corporate lending. They are "shunning companies in problem industries like energy, textiles, steel, and telecommunications, and charging higher interest rates and bigger upfront fees on most other loans, even to top-rated companies in healthy industries," stated a July 21 *New York Times* article.

As of June, banks had \$1 trillion in outstanding commercial and industrial loans, according to Federal Reserve data. Banks are writing off more loans as well. At the end of 2001, write-offs of bad corporate loans for the 100 largest banks hit a peak of

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Deflating balloons of debt and other paper values

Below is an excerpt from a talk presented by Jack Barnes over the 1994-95 New Year's weekend entitled "So Far From God, So Close to Orange County: The Deflationary Drag of Finance Capital." Among other topics, the talk addresses the deflating debt balloons that collapsed in Mexico and Orange County, California, in the mid-1990s. The full text appears in *Capitalism's World Disorder*. Copyright ©1999 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

BY JACK BARNES

So, the world's propertied families have been fighting among themselves more and more to use credit to corner a bigger cut of the surplus value they collectively squeeze from working people. They have been blowing up great balloons of debt. But ever since the 1987 stock market panic, and at an accelerated pace since the onset of world depression conditions at the opening of the 1990s, the capitalists have been plagued by the problem that first one balloon, then another, and then yet another begins to deflate. And they have no way of knowing which balloon will go next until they start hearing the "whoosh," and by then it is often too late.

All of us were children once and have blown up balloons. They can expand very slowly, very gradually. But then try to let the air out. That is harder to control. Remember? The balloons can get away and ricochet all over the room.

With returns on investments in capacity-expanding plant and equipment under pressure since the mid-1970s, owners of capital have not only been cost cutting; the holders of paper have been borrowing larger and larger amounts to buy and sell various forms of paper securities at a profit. They blew up a giant balloon of debt in Orange County

over a period of years; the bondholders thought they had died and gone to heaven. Then the balloon began to deflate, as they learned the hard way that interest rates go up as well as down. When the balloon international bankers had inflated in Mexico in the 1980s began to collapse, the bondholders stepped in and blew it back up for a while. But in Orange County, the more local officials borrowed to make a killing using public funds to gamble with bond merchants, the greater their vulnerability became. Earlier this year, when rates started rising and low-interest bond issues were suddenly no longer available, the moment of truth arrived.

Now the capitalists and their public representatives—and not just in Mexico or Orange County—have been given another warning of the long-run possibilities of an uncontrollable deflation.

Over the past couple of decades, upturns in the business cycle have relied on floating large amounts of fictitious capital—ballooning debt and other paper values. The capitalists are now paying the piper for the lack of sufficient economic growth during that period to keep rolling over the loans.

The financial press has a term for this explosive process; they call it "de-leveraging." Among other things, this means we will be seeing more breakdowns like the bankruptcy in public "trust funds" in Orange County. Now I will admit, if you had asked me which of the thousands of local and state administrations was most likely to go belly up, I would have been hard put to guess Orange County. The spiritual home of Ronald Reagan and site of John Wayne Airport, Orange County has a median income in the top 2 percent of households in the United States.

Remember those pieces of paper with the cute names we mentioned in "What the 1987

Stock Market Crash Foretold?"—the Fannie Maes, Ginnie Maes, Farmer Maes? They are interest-bearing securities supposedly guaranteed by quasi-government agencies that buy up mortgages and second mortgages on homes and farmland. It was these bits of paper—cut apart, repackaged, and jazzed up as roulette chips labeled "derivatives"—whose declining prices imploded on Orange County and got it in such a jam.

The resolution, adopted by the 1988 convention of the Socialist Workers Party, is available in issue no. 10 (1994) of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory.



In New International no. 11

- Two programmatic documents of the Socialist Workers Party: **U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War** by Jack Barnes and **The Communist Strategy of Party Building Today** by Mary-Alice Waters
- **Socialism: A Viable Option** by José Ramón Balaguer
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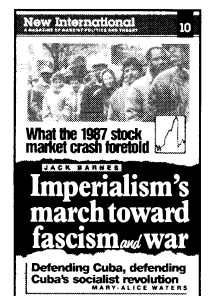
In New International no. 10

- **Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War** by Jack Barnes
- **What the 1987 Stock Market Crash Foretold** • **Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution** by Mary-Alice Waters
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Socialist candidate featured in Carolina press

The following article by Scott Jenkins, entitled "Socialist files for Senate," appeared in the August 8 *Salisbury Post*, a daily in North Carolina.

KANNAPOLIS—A candidate whose campaign says she favors a shorter work week and opposes U.S. military action in Iraq has entered the race to succeed Jesse Helms in the U.S. Senate.

Connie Allen, who works in the towel sewing department at Pillowtex Plant 1, is running a write-in campaign as the Socialist Workers Party candidate.

She joins a crowded race that includes Republicans Elizabeth Dole, Dr. Ada Fisher and Doug Sellers, from Rowan County; Democrats Erskine Bowles and Dan Blue; and Libertarian Sean Haugh.

Allen plans to formally announce her candidacy at a 7 p.m. meeting Friday at the Pathfinder Book Store, 2001-A N. Cannon Blvd., where the campaign will have its headquarters.

"We think there will be a lot of interest among working people," said Steve Wolf, a campaign worker. "We've found that already with the campaigning we've done here in Kannapolis."

Allen, 49, was not available this morning. Wolf said she was sleeping after working third shift at Pillowtex.

Wolf said Allen is a native of Lincoln, Neb. Before moving to Kannapolis about 2-1/2 years ago, she lived in Philadelphia for about 10 years.

While living in Philadelphia, Allen ran unsuccessfully for Congress under the Socialist banner, Wolf said.

Wolf said the campaign believes the party's message will be well received at a time when the nation is trudging through recession and "heading into a depression like we haven't seen since the 1930s."

Wolf promised Allen will conduct a "much different campaign."

Friday, Allen will speak about why working people should oppose a war in Iraq and the effects of such a war on the national and world economy.

"Workers need to raise demands that can unite working people here and around the world and that increase our solidarity in the face of rising unemployment and the real danger of ruinous bursts of inflation, financial panic and the deepening global crisis of the capitalist system," Allen said in a prepared statement.

Among the actions Allen supports:

- Shorten the work week with no cut in pay and substantially increase the minimum wage. Wolf said this would stem unemployment.

- Defend and extend union organizations to provide job security and safety.

- Enact government-funded public works projects, such as schools and parks, at union-scale wages.

- Require that all wages are covered by full and automatic cost-of-living protection.

- Provide working farmers with the credit and aid needed to prevent foreclosure.

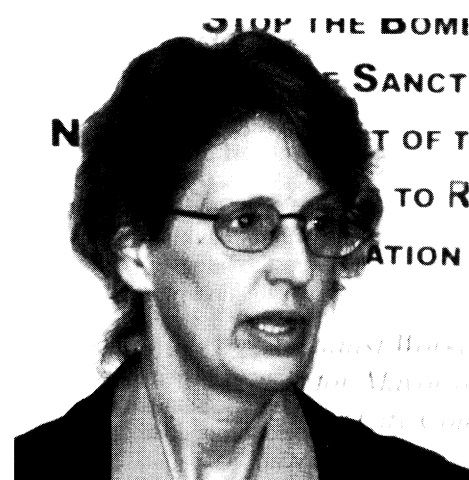
- End the deportation of immigrant workers.

- Provide workers with guaranteed health insurance, Social Security and retirement "funded from increasing taxes on the profits of the rich."

- Cancel Third World debt.

- Support self-determination for the Palestinian people and the "unbreakable fight of the Palestinian people for their land against Israeli government brutality."

- End the embargo of Cuba.



Militant/Nancy Cole
SWP candidate Connie Allen in 1999

Coal miners welcome the 'Militant'

BY CHRIS REMPLE

PITTSBURGH—Supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign in Pennsylvania went to mine portals and working-class communities near the Quecreek mine disaster in Somerset county.

The team distributed a July 28 statement released by Tony Lane, the party's candidate for governor, in which he puts the responsibility of the disaster on the unrelenting drive for profits by the coal bosses (see the August 19 *Militant*). Team members also introduced miners and other workers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Four copies of the *Militant* were sold at the Maple Creek portal and the 84 Mine, and another half dozen going door-to-door.

At the 84 Mine portal one miner said they had faced a similar flood there because they had worked a nine-foot seam. The water only came up chest high and they were able

to get everyone out.

A woman truck driver in Boswell angered by the disaster stated, "Someone should pay" for what happened to the miners.

A former garment worker in Jenner expressed how glad she was that all nine of the miners got out alive. Referring to Pennsylvania governor Mark Schweiker, she said, "Who is [he] anyway? He comes down here and everything is 'I, I, we, we,' but he didn't do anything. He wasn't drilling the hole or working to get them out." After the bosses closed the last garment shop in the area down, she found a job at the local hospital.

A retired strip-mine worker from Gray was pleased with the fact that Schweiker had spent so much time at the site. But he also thought working people needed someone like himself to run for governor. The miner said he had been turned down for black lung benefits because the mine where he worked was

outdoors and aboveground—even though the coal dust got so thick that it interfered with the operation of the diesel machines.

"At the hearings," he said, "the company brings a lawyer from Pittsburgh. All he does is squash down on us. I never had a chance."

The team also met a miner's widow in Gray who had a lot to say about the coal companies. Her husband, father and brothers had all been miners, and all died from black lung disease. Her son was disabled in the mines about nine years ago. "You can't tell me anything about the coal companies," she said, adding that the family has waged a fight to get continuing medical care for her son since he got injured.

Even though they received a money settlement, the company resists paying for his pain medication. "When the company put their people in the road down from his house to photograph my son," she said, "local people ran them off."

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BY RUTH HARRIS

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama—Socialist workers and young socialists from Alabama, Colorado, and New York teamed up for a sales visit to the Alabama coalfields July 16-18. The team visited five mine portals, one textile plant, and the University of Alabama Birmingham (UAB) campus, selling a total of 38 copies of the *Militant*. Seven of these were sold at the Oak Grove Mine. Two miners who work there bought the paper along with five people passing by. One was a United Parcel Service worker who said that he didn't like the latest contract won by the Teamsters union because it is for six years. Another paper was sold to a person who stopped and came back to the table after reading the sign opposing Bush's "war on terrorism." When told that the *Militant* is a socialist paper he replied that he is interested in socialism.

At the Jim Walter No. 5 mine, where 13 miners were killed last October following an explosion, a miner stopped his car and asked "is that the *Militant*?" as he approached with his \$1.50 ready to buy a copy. Another miner bought the paper because he was interested in the article opposing the U.S. bombing of Afghanistan. Two other miners purchased a copy of the socialist newsweekly. Many who stopped told team members that conditions have not gotten much better since the explosion. Another team sold three papers at the Jim Walter No. 7 mine.

While selling outside a local grocery store at the nearby coal mining town of Brookwood, the team met a woman whose relatives had been killed in the explosion at the Jim Walter mine. She said families of those killed have filed 10 lawsuits against the coal bosses at Jim Walter.

The team also reached out to students in the area. At the UAB campus students purchased eight copies of the *Militant* and one pamphlet. A student who was familiar with titles published by Pathfinder stopped by to take a look at the literature table on her way to her class on the civil rights movement. An hour later she came back to tell the team that she had recommended to her class that they stop by and check out the books and told students the location of the local Pathfinder bookstore.

Chris Remple is a member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees Local 622 at Flushing Shirt in Jefferson, Pennsylvania.

Who are the Cuban revolutionaries framed and jailed by Washington?

René González

Five Cuban revolutionaries are currently serving prison terms of between 15 years and a double life sentence after being framed up and convicted in June 2001 in a U.S. federal court.

The five revolutionaries were in the United States on an internationalist mission to defend the sovereignty of their country and the Cuban Revolution. They were gathering information on the activities of counterrevolutionary groups in Florida that have a history of launching violent attacks on Cuba from U.S. soil. The groups have been able to operate with impunity from Florida, often with the assistance of, training by, and funding from the U.S. government.

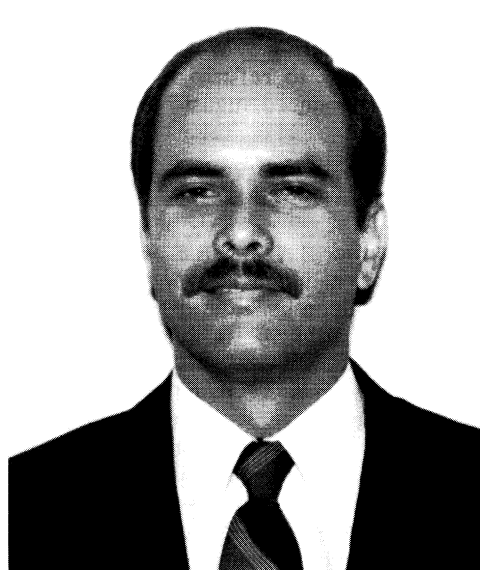
Unable to prove any illegal acts by the five, the federal government pushed through convictions on a series of conspiracy charges, including conspiracy to act as an unregistered agent of a foreign power, to commit espionage, and to commit murder. The five are René González, Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, and Fernando González.

An international campaign is being waged by various organizations to explain the truth about the cases of the five and to demand they be released from prison. Extensive information on this fight can be found at themilitant.com.

The *Militant* is running short biographical sketches of each of the five. Following is the biography of René González, who was sentenced to 15 years in jail. Also pictured is Gerardo Hernández, whose biography was featured in last week's issue.

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René González Schwerert was born in Chicago on Aug. 13, 1956. His father, Cándido René González, had been contracted as a professional baseball player in the United States, but never got to play in a U.S. stadium. "We had some rough times, very rough," he recently recalled. His father and mother Irma had opposed the Batista dictatorship and joined the July 26 Movement in 1957. Following the mobilization



Granma

Cuban revolutionaries René González (left) and Gerardo Hernández

of workers and peasants in Cuba to defeat the 1961 U.S.-backed mercenary invasion at the Bay of Pigs, the González family decided to return to Cuba.

René González attended school in Cuba and wanted to become a pilot since his youth. Due to his decisions to respond to revolutionary developments at home and abroad, he had to postpone his life aspiration several times.

The first time was as a cadre of the Union of Young Communists. González volunteered to go to the countryside to be part of a teaching contingent. Soon after he was called for military service, something he enrolled in voluntarily given his U.S. citizenship.

After completing military service with high grades as a tank driver, González was released to pursue his goal to attend flight school and become a certified pilot. But again world events intervened. On his way to flight school, González, upon learning that his tank unit was on its way to join the Cuba internationalist mission fighting in Angola against an invasion by the racist South African army, decided to rejoin his comrades.

The Cuban revolutionary fighter finally completed his training as a pilot after his return from Angola and worked for some time as a flight instructor.

Already a longtime member of the Union of Young Communists, he was taken into membership in the Cuban Communist Party in 1990. He soon accepted an assignment to go to the United States for his next mission in defense of the revolution. As was the case with the four other Cuban revolutionaries, no one in González's family knew why he moved to the United States. His brother Roberto says he thought René had died when his plane never came back, because he couldn't believe he had left for the United States.

In his statement at his sentencing hearing on Dec. 14, 2001, González explained the reasons the five were in Florida. "This whole issue of Cuban agents has a very simple solution: Leave Cuba alone. Do your job. Respect the sovereignty of the Cuban people," he said. "I would gladly say good-bye to every last spy who returns to the island. We have better things to do there, all of them a lot more constructive than watching the criminals who freely walk the streets of Miami."

'One industry, one fight': Bay Area hotel workers march

BY DEBORAH LIATOS

OAKLAND, California—Led by the International Longshore and Warehouse Union's 11-member drill team, more than 500 people marched here August 1 to demand higher wages, health care, and the right to organize a union for hotel workers.

Members of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), the Teamsters, the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 870, and the Northern California Carpenters joined workers from various hotels, chanting slogans in Spanish and English that included "Ain't no power like the power of the workers 'cause the power of the workers don't stop."

Numerous placards read, "Justice on the Job. One Union, One Industry, One Fight—HERE Local 2850 and SEIU Local 1877." The hour-long march ended at the Claremont Resort and Spa Hotel in the Oakland hills.

Members of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) Local 2850 are engaged in industry-wide negotiations covering more than 1,000 workers at the Claremont, the Berkeley Radisson, the Hilton and Marriott hotels in Oakland, and the Holiday Inns in Oakland and Emeryville. Workers oppose proposals by the bosses that include wage increases ranging from 5 cents to 20 cents an hour, and that would result in many paying an additional \$200 per month

for health-care coverage.

Local 2850 represents approximately 160 employees at the Claremont who are seeking a new union contract. An additional 140 spa workers are demanding that the hotel bosses recognize the union as their representative.

"We've had a number of rallies at the Claremont," said Susan Goodnoe, a massage therapist at the spa. "The issue is a crisis in the hospitality industry in the East Bay. We are marching for a fair contract. Management has carried out write-ups, suspensions, and firings."

Workers at the spa were fired and forced to reapply for their jobs after KSL Recreation took over the Claremont four years ago, they explained. Between 30 percent and 40 percent were rehired. One of them, Leslie Fitzgerald, lost \$3 an hour in pay along with health benefits, which had previously kicked in after 20 hours of work. The threshold has been raised to 32 hours.

"If you get benefits you have to pay \$300 per family per month," Goodnoe said. "People who work under 32 hours a week, which is 95 percent of us, have no benefits." Massage therapists are prone to back, neck, and repetitive-stress injuries, workers said.

"Management says that they've been losing money since September 11," said Norine Madrid, a nine-year employee at the



Militant/Deborah Liatos
Hotel workers, janitors, and others marched on August 1 to oppose hotel bosses' contract proposals and defend their unions. "We're going to show all the hotels that we are together and united," said one worker.

Claremont Resort. "But we're the ones who can't get enough hours and are struggling to pay the bills. They shouldn't balance their checkbook with my kids' health insurance."

"Many of these corporations that claim they can't afford to pay for basic health insurance are bringing in billions each year," said Stephanie Ruby of Local 2850.

The National Labor Relations Board recently issued a formal complaint alleging that the Claremont violated federal labor laws by making threats of firings, conducting illegal surveillance, interrogating employees, forcing employees to attend anti-union meetings, and illegally suspending employees for union activity. The NLRB has scheduled an August trial date to hear these charges.

'With the union we have strength'

"We are working only five or six hours a day," said Gloria Ayala, a home care worker and member of SEIU Local 616 since 1994. "We get \$9 an hour and have medical but not dental benefits. We are asking for \$11 an hour plus benefits."

"With the union we have strength," she continued. "We have our own rallies and come to support others also." Ayala said that their union contract has been extended until October.

Moung Saephan has worked at the Marriott hotel in downtown Oakland for 13 years and is a member of HERE Local 2850. "We have to fight," said Saephan. "There are many workers here from the Oakland Marriott. We need more money. Medical and dental costs are too much. We get more work cleaning rooms. You get a lot of pain in your hands, arms, knees and wrists."

Other workers explained why they were turning out for the August 1 action. "For a

fair contract for all hotels and for health care, because we deserve it—we work hard—and because we need the right to organize and for nonunion workers to be union," said Carmen Rodriguez, an Oakland Marriott housekeeper.

"We are not paying anything for health insurance now and I don't want to pay \$200 a month for the next five years. A 5-cent raise is ridiculous. We're going to show the Claremont and all the hotels that we are together and united," said Benson Wong, a cook at the Claremont.

"Because workers are getting paid less and less and health care is evaporating. There's no freedom, just a growing feeling that you have to work just to make ends meet," said Mario Savione, a Claremont Hotel restaurant server.

"Because I want to support all hotel workers, including Radisson workers, to get better benefits and wages. We have to fight harder because we are one union, this is one fight, and we have to let all the bosses know we are not afraid," stated Carmelita Cotten, a housekeeper at the Berkeley Radisson.

"We are here to show the hotels and companies our power," said Marcos Ramirez, a Claremont Hotel houseperson. Melody Li, a housekeeper at the Oakland Marriott, added that "we need benefits, more money, and less rooms to clean. We will be powerful marching together!"

A Labor Day picket will take place at the Claremont Resort and Spa on Ashby near Claremont Avenue on Monday September 2 from 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. For more information call HERE Local 2850 at (510) 893-3181.

Deborah Liatos is a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 120.

'TIPS' set up to recruit workers in snitch program

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

U.S. attorney general John Ashcroft announced in late July the formation of the Terrorism Information and Prevention System (TIPS). The program involves a "worker corps" of truck drivers, bus drivers, train conductors, meter readers, port workers, postal workers, and others who report "potentially terrorist-related activity" around the United States.

TIPS is one of five programs of the "Citizen Corps" established by President George Bush in January. He touted the snitch operation in his State of the Union address and in a speech in Knoxville, Tennessee, as "a program where truckers can report anything that might be suspicious." The Justice Department is working with bosses in several industries where workers are "ideally suited to help in the antiterrorism effort," according to the Citizen Corps web site.

The American Trucking Associations (ATA), an organization of bosses in the trucking industry, aims to integrate TIPS into its "Highway Watch" program. The plan would enlist spies from among the 3 million truckers traveling on interstate highways and other roads across the country. The ATA receives funds for the TIPS program under a grant from the Federal Motor Carrier Safety Administration, an arm of the U.S. Department of Transportation.

Training sessions in the trucking industry began in early August with as many as 400 truck drivers participating each month.

So far the program has been established in 13 states, including Colorado and Pennsylvania.

The officialdom of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters union has endorsed the program. On July 19, it announced in the Teamsters online magazine that "truckers may help with national security." The article states that the program "is enlisting the help of everyday working Americans, including truck drivers, to serve as eyes and ears in the fight against terrorism."

The U.S. Postal Service noted in its July 19 *Latest Facts* update, "For now, USPS and its letter carriers will not be participating in the Justice Department program called Operation TIPS." The Post Office added that it "already has long-standing processes in place for employees nationwide to report suspicious activity to the Postal Inspection Service and to local authorities."

Several conservative capitalist politicians in Congress, rightists, civil liberties groups, and others have denounced TIPS as promoting vigilantism and assaulting privacy rights. Calling TIPS a "snitch system," Republican congressman Robert Barr condemned it as "a formal program, organized, paid for, and maintained by our own federal government to recruit Americans to spy on fellow Americans."

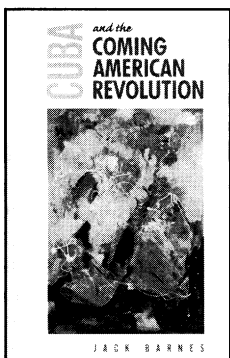
Laura Murphy, director of the American Civil Liberties Union's national office, condemned the TIPS program, calling it "government-sanctioned peeping Toms."

CUBA and the Coming American Revolution by Jack Barnes

There will be a victorious revolution in the United States before a victorious counterrevolution in Cuba — Fidel Castro, March 1961

Cuba and the Coming American Revolution is about the struggles of working people in the imperialist heartland, the youth who are attracted to them, and the example set by the people of Cuba that revolution is not only necessary—it can be made. Preface by Mary-Alice Waters. **In English, Spanish, and French.**

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 14.



Socialist candidate reports break-in at Washington, D.C., office

The Washington, D.C., Socialist Workers Campaign released the following statement August 13.

The offices of the Washington, D.C., Socialist Workers Campaign, Sam Manuel for mayor, and the Pathfinder bookstore were broken into sometime late in the night of August 12 or early morning August 13.

The break-in was discovered by campaign supporters who said it appeared that someone used a crowbar to pry open a piece of wood covering a window. The intruder then replaced the material in what appears to be an attempt to cover up the break-in.

Some tools and a small amount of change held in a box for refreshments were taken. Other equipment remained seemingly untouched.

The break-in takes place as Manuel and his supporters are hitting the streets of Washington, offering a fighting alternative to the twin parties of imperialist war and economic depression, the Demo-

crats and Republicans. Calling for opposition to Washington's imperialist war drive, jobs for all, defense of workers' rights, and offering a revolutionary program to unite working people, the socialist campaign has found much support from workers and youth in the city. Nearly 5,000 people have signed to place Manuel's name on the ballot. The candidate plans to submit a total of 6,000 signatures later this month.

"This break-in is suspicious, coming within days of a major push by supporters of the campaign in the city to get my name on the ballot," Manuel said. "Our historic suit against the government in the early 1970s, *Socialist Workers vs. Attorney General*, exposed a long history of government break-ins, wiretaps, and mail covers against the party. I call on the authorities to thoroughly investigate this incident. We will respond by redoubling our efforts to ensure a space on the ballot for the working-class alternative to the twin parties of war and economic depression," Manuel said.

Expanding the reach of revolutionary books

Transforming the production and distribution of titles published by Pathfinder

BY PATRICK O'NEILL
AND GREG McCARTAN

NEW YORK—Visiting a longshore dispatch center in San Pedro, California, August 6, socialist workers and young socialist campaigners sold a dozen copies of the *Militant*, a subscription to the paper, and a Pathfinder catalog and book. The worker who purchased the subscription told the team that he had just moved to Southern California from Oakland, where he had read the *Militant*. Pointing to *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning: The Fraud of Education Reform under Capitalism*, by Jack Barnes, he said the pamphlet was one of the best titles he had ever read and that he has given a copy to several of his friends.

The story captures the main points of the reports and discussion—and course of action charted—at the Socialist Workers Party's 41st Convention, held July 25–27 in Oberlin, Ohio. Nearly 400 people attended the gathering, including 116 party supporters and workers and youth who are building the communist movement in eight countries (see the August 19 issue of the *Militant* for further coverage).

The team was part of the communist movement's response to the sharpening assault by the employers and the government against the International Longshore and Warehouse Union on the West Coast. In less than a week, in addition to more than 200 copies of the *Militant*, socialist workers and young socialists sold dozens of revolutionary books and pamphlets to dockworkers, including *The Working-Class and the Transformation of Learning*, *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*, *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*, *Che Guevara y la lucha por el socialismo hoy*, and *Coal Miners on Strike*.

Boldness and simplification

SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters presented a report to the convention on the ongoing efforts to "transform and simplify" the publishing and leadership apparatus of the communist movement: the expanding work of the supporters of the party in the production, sales, and distribution of Pathfinder books; and the central place of the Pathfinder arsenal in building the international communist movement from within the resistance of working people today.

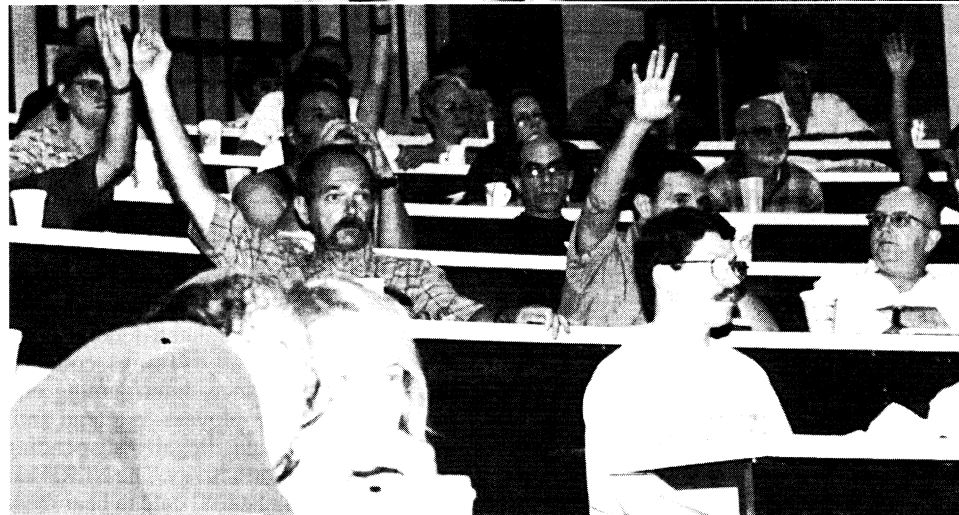
The communist movement has always sought to have an apparatus and its own printing presses in order to produce revolutionary literature needed to educate and organize working people as class battles unfold and a contest for political power is posed, Waters pointed out.

With the growth of sales of the *Militant* and revolutionary books among youth and working people involved in massive struggles in the 1960s and 1970s—and resulting recruitment to the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party—the communist movement was able to purchase a web press. The new press could meet the growing run sizes of the *Militant*, which more than tripled, reaching 30,000 a week. Later, the movement purchased high-quality sheetfed presses, capable of turning out attractive four-color covers and book text pages in short runs.

Today, with a *Militant* press run around 4,000 a week, a web press is no longer needed to produce the socialist newsweekly. It is now being printed on the same presses that produce Pathfinder books, making the operation more efficient and cost-effective.

Over the last four years, Waters explained, the movement has been organizing in stages to find what equipment it needs to continue to keep in print more than 350 Pathfinder books and pamphlets, while maintaining the high quality of the books. The excess capacity of the equipment is being used to publish the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as commercial jobs.

"Our aim is to build a publishing operation around the party needs today, and in the image of our branch organizing committees. And to do so without sacrificing the quality of the books," said Waters. Through this, she noted, the party can help to



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Pathfinder Reprint Project volunteers participate in workshops, held immediately following the Socialist Workers Party convention, to organize the work of the project and enhance their skills. Top, workshop of the project's indexing team in session. Below, the plenary workshop that helped kick off the supporters' nationwide sales of Pathfinder titles to bookstores, libraries, and schools.

strengthen the branches in New York, where the apparatus is located.

A "red weekend" of volunteer labor is being organized at the Pathfinder Building in New York August 24–25, one in a series that is transforming the apparatus of the communist movement (see ad on page 1).

Waters reported that Pathfinder has already published 11 new titles this year, with 13 more scheduled for 2002. These coming titles include *October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba*, by Tomás Díez; *Marianas in Combat: Teté Puebla and the Marianas Grajales Women's Platoon in Cuba's Revolutionary War*; *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, for the first time in Spanish; and a new French edition of *Their*

Trotsky and Ours, by Jack Barnes.

"This ambitious publishing program would not be possible without the transformation of the supporters movement that began in 1998," she said. From the project kicked off that year to turn all Pathfinder books into ready-to-print digital files, the supporters now format all new Pathfinder titles and run the web page for the publishing house. One conquest of this effort, she noted, was that for the first time this year the books used in the socialist summer school were all available in English, French, and Spanish.

Building on these accomplishments of an international army, acting with discipline and concentrated striking power, the sup-

porters have begun to organize a nationwide sales effort to commercial bookstores and other outlets, and will establish a Pathfinder distribution center in Atlanta. Holly Harkness reported during a panel presentation on the work of supporters in Atlanta, which builds on consistent efforts to sell Pathfinder to bookstores in the area.

Waters concluded her report by quoting from the introduction to Pathfinder's new edition of *Their Trotsky and Ours*, by Jack Barnes: "History shows that small revolutionary organizations will face not only the stern test of wars and repression, but also the potentially shattering opportunities that emerge unexpectedly when strikes and social struggles erupt."

New responsibilities of supporters

During a panel discussion held one evening during the convention, Tom Tomasko, a member of the Steering Committee of the Pathfinder Reprint Project, noted that at the beginning of August the project will have been under way for four and a half years. "Some 75 percent of our Pathfinder's titles, the patrimony of our movement, have been turned into digital files," he said.

"More recently we have taken on new responsibilities," Tomasko said. "We have helped to prepare 45 new titles or new editions, including six so far this year. We have also helped to get the pathfinderpress.com website up and running."

Tomasko outlined new goals set by the project steering committee in collaboration with the SWP leadership. "We aim to digitize 100 books over the coming year in addition to the new titles that are planned. We're also taking responsibility for Pathfinder sales to bookstores, libraries, and educational institutions," an effort that will involve close collaboration by the SWP branches and organizing committees. "We'll learn by doing," he said.

"Supporters in Atlanta are taking charge of the fulfillment of orders by the publisher's customers," Tomasko said. Presently organized in New York by Pathfinder staff members, this "pick and pack operation" will be moved to Atlanta during two Red Weekends.

In a presentation at a rally following the close of the convention, Sara Gates from Seattle described another victory of the supporters movement: raising more than \$300,000 a year in monthly contributions for the operating expenses of the Socialist Workers Party.

On the last day of the socialist gathering, Reprint Project volunteers packed a workshop on the Pathfinder sales effort before breaking into smaller workshops on the formatting, indexing, graphics, and other aspects of their digitizing work.

Classes are among convention highlights

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

A highlight of the Socialist Workers Party Convention for the nearly 400 participants was provided by four classes presented by leaders of the communist movement. The attendance and lively discussion periods reflected both the interest in communist politics and seriousness with which the socialist workers and young socialists approach their historic mission of working to construct a revolutionary leadership party of the working class.

One of the best attended classes was "October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen From Cuba" by Steve Clark. This reviewed the events around the confrontation 40 years ago between Washington and the Cuban Revolution. Clark explained why the Cuban government accepted placement of nuclear missiles from the Soviet Union on its soil, the mobilizations of working people in Cuba as Washington escalated its war threats, and how the U.S. rulers backed down, unwilling to pay the political price for an invasion that would have sent tens of thousands of U.S. troops to their death in the face of tenacious resistance by the Cuban people.

The class helped prepare participants to discuss these questions with fellow work-

ers and youth as the 40th anniversary approaches, and to promote and sell *October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba* by Tomás Díez, soon to be released by Pathfinder. A display at the conference featured the upcoming book and the events it describes.

The other classes were: "Declining Health Care Under Capitalism" by Tom Leonard; "The Roots of Bonapartism—The 18th Brumaire" by Richard Taylor; "Building the Communist Movement in the Southern Cone" by Martin Koppel and Romina Green; and "The Hidden History of the Workers and Farmers Government in Azerbaijan: 1945-46" by Ma'mud Shivani.

The class presented by Leonard focused on cuts in medical care for veterans, which form part of the overall decline in health care for working people. The discussion took up the closure of public hospitals and clinics and other cutbacks tied to capitalist profitability, and discussed how the political question of health care takes on added importance as depression conditions loom for millions of workers and farmers. Leonard explained that communists can anticipate struggles in defense of social programs and a rise in class solidarity among working people.

One set of panels displayed the photo signatures in the English, French, and Spanish editions of *The History of American Trotskyism*. Mary-Alice Waters explained the political value of the photo signatures in Pathfinder books in her report to the convention. On street corners, on the job, and in book stores, the photo signatures help anyone interested in a given title gain an understanding of its contents, and an appreciation of its value to working people. They help bridge language and other barriers among working people and add substantially to the books' political impact.

Participants at the convention bought almost 500 books and pamphlets worth a total of \$6,700. Among the best sellers were the *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, 23 sets of which were sold, along with 123 individual volumes, and 82 volumes of the *Collected Works of V.I. Lenin*. Other top-selling titles included 71 copies of *Their Trotsky and Ours* by Jack Barnes; 25 of *The History of American Trotskyism*; 13 of the pamphlet *We Are the Heirs of the World's Revolutions* by Thomas Sankara; 10 of Barnes's *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*; and 8 of *Teamster Bureaucracy* by Farrell Dobbs.

Dockworkers rally to demand: 'No gov't union busting'

Continued from front page

Since the 110-day 1977-1978 national United Mine Workers' coal strike, when former Democratic president James Carter unsuccessfully tried to break the miners' walkout. President Richard Nixon invoked the antiunion law in 1971, forcing the West Coast dockworkers back on the job after they walked out as part of a growing nationwide longshore strike. It was the last major strike action on the docks.

Why should PMA settle?

Of all the issues before the union, workers singled out the threat of government intervention as the most serious. "Why should the PMA even want to settle with us if federal troops are standing behind them?" asked Roxanne Lawrence, an ILWU member. Echoing others, she said, "It's not fair and it's not right."

"We demand that Bush and the PMA stop using 'Homeland Security' as an excuse to militarize or federalize our ports in order to weaken the American labor movement," states an ILWU flyer.

The 10,500 ILWU members on West Coast ports handle half of ocean-borne containerized cargo in and out of the United States, valued at around \$300 billion a year. The bosses estimate that a strike would cost \$1 billion a day. The ports of Long Beach and Los Angeles are the largest on the West Coast. Over the past two decades, seaborne trade through West Coast ports has quintupled, almost doubling the region's share of total U.S. trade, in billions of dollars.

The shipping owners and the federal government are nervous that a slowdown or a strike could cause a crisis in the world economy. One "trade expert" said a labor disruption could spark a "crisis in Asian currencies and U.S. financial markets." Another report, filed in the *New York Times*, said Bush administration officials and "business executives across the nation fear that a job action at the ports...could wreak havoc on the nation's already wobbly economy."

After the contract expired July 1, the union agreed to a day-to-day contract extension. ILWU members who work at ports on the West Coast have given the negotiating committee a mandate to call a strike should contract talks fail. Talks were suspended three weeks ago and resumed August 14.

Extent of government intervention

In recent weeks, union members have learned the extent to which the government is backing the PMA. In mid-May the White House established a top-level task force to "aggressively" intervene in the longshore labor dispute. The force included officials from the departments of Labor, Commerce, Transportation, and the newly created Office of Homeland Security.

Washington justifies its intervention under the guise of national security in wartime, reported the *Los Angeles Times*, in an article titled, "White House Signals It Will Move to Forestall West Coast Port Strike."

"We have been very candid," said a Labor Department official. "We have told them [the ILWU] if they act in a manner that is disruptive, we will use any means necessary to make sure our troops in the field get what they need."

In addition, the union reported that a Labor Department official said the government might seek new legislation modeled after the notorious antiunion Railway Labor Act that would give the White House greater powers to stop a walkout. The law, which has been used to prevent rail workers from striking, has little parallel elsewhere in U.S. industry.

The PMA is backed by the West Coast Waterfront Coalition, an employer group that includes such large retailers as Wal-Mart, Home Depot, and Target.

At the Long Beach rally, the union handed out a flyer to counter some of the lies circulated by "the PMA, the Bush Administration, and a coalition of corporate interests

(Wal-Mart, The Gap, Nike, etc.)" The flyer pointed out that the PMA claims it "just wants to introduce technology to make the waterfront more efficient, and the ILWU is just anti-technology."

In July, the union proposed a concession that would eliminate 600 jobs and allow the dock operators to save \$100 million a year through a reduction in the workforce and increased efficiencies. The PMA rejected this proposal, saying it didn't go far enough. One ILWU member who is against giving any ground on the "technology" question said every "efficiency-boosting proposal in the past has only led to loss of jobs and a weakening of the union."

The union points out that the real issue is that the PMA wants to "bypass the hiring hall and outsource jobs. The benefits of new technology should go to workers—not into corporate coffers," says the union flyer. Several dockworkers report that maintaining the hiring hall—called the "dispatch" hall—under union control is a key issue for them. One young dockworker commented, "The dispatch hall isn't just about learning where we will be working. We find out what is going on, where they [the dock bosses] are messing with us; it's about solidarity and putting the best work crew together to keep the union strong."

Dangerous work

Work on the docks is dangerous, the unionists point out. According to the ILWU, during the last three years there have been six fatalities on the job, and more than 7,100 reported job injuries.

The union also took on the PMA charge that the ILWU is "putting the nation's security at risk." An ILWU flyer states that the "corporations are using the tragedy of September 11 as a pretext to go after the unions. They want to make people afraid of fighting for their rights—Tom Ridge, Homeland Security chief, even threatened the union with government intervention."

The flyer concludes, "The only security the PMA is concerned about is the security of their own profits—and they will do anything to try to make workers pay."

One of the signs distributed by the union that weakened their fight carried the slogan, "Fight Terrorism, Not American Workers." This slogan gives support to the government's military assaults on the peoples of Afghanistan, as well as backing to Israel's war against the Palestinian people, which are both done in the name of fighting "terrorism."

The national AFL-CIO issued a statement in support of the ILWU, in which the labor federation criticized the Bush administration's threats of intervention as an "unconscionable effort to bolster the PMA's contract demands and threatens the legitimate collective bargaining rights of longshore workers."

At the rally, a union spokesman announced that the union will be rallying in front of the new Maersk terminal at the port of Los Angeles on August 15. The Maersk terminal is the single largest port facility in the world, equivalent to the size of 366 football fields.

BY DEBORAH LIATOS

OAKLAND, California—One thousand longshore workers and their supporters held a spirited rally at the Federal Building here August 12, to call on the Bush administration to stay out of negotiations between the Pacific Maritime Association, which represents the port bosses, and the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, which represents workers on the docks.

Oakland is the fourth busiest seaport in the country.

Workers turned out in support of the ILWU from the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), Teamsters union, Sailors Union of the Pacific, other maritime unions, members of the International Association of Machinists who work at United



Militant Ernie Mailhot

Dockworkers and their supporters rally at Pier 66 in Seattle on August 12

Airlines, and others.

Dave Connelly, vice president of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, explained that his union was here because "we've been with the ILWU for a long time."

"I just want to see the government stay out of our business," said John Kucin, who has 39 qualified years as a clerk and is a member of ILWU Local 34.

"The whole labor movement is looking at us. If Bush gets away with this, what's next? The auto workers?"

"By declaring war, this president is giving himself the power to do what he wants. Just call it national security," explained Kucin.

Richard Mead, president of ILWU Local 10, told the press, "You can't take what happened on 9/11 and use it as a ruse" against the union.

Many workers at the rally said that they believe September 11 is being used by the government to justify attacks on workers and the labor movement.

Speakers at the event included Richard Mead; Judy Goff, executive secretary-treasurer of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County; Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council; ILWU International president Jim Spinosa; Oakland mayor Jerry Brown; Chuck Mack, Teamsters Local 70; and Steve Bristow, East Bay vice president of SEIU Local 790.



BY DENNIS BRYSON

SEATTLE—In a spirited march and rally

more than 1,500 members of the ILWU, other dockworkers, and their supporters marched along Seattle's waterfront demanding a contract with the Pacific Maritime Association.

As the marchers chanted, "No Taft-Hartley!" "Bush, stay out of our union!" and "We want a contract!" the one-mile march was greeted by horns honking in support of the ILWU in its contract fight.

The march led off with ILWU members on motorcycles with signs explaining "1934-2002—Same Struggle, Same Fight!" referring to the decisive 1934 waterfront strike that organized the docks.

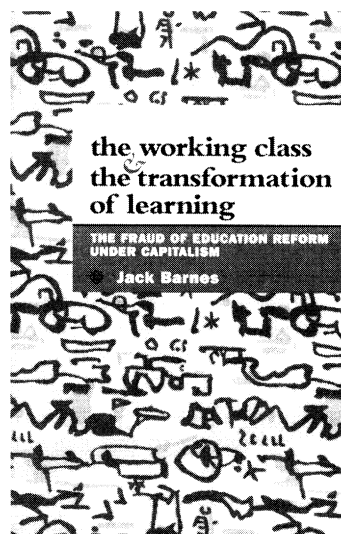
The rally featured speakers representing each of the ILWU locals that organize the commercial ports up and down the Washington State coastline. Dominic Morretti, a member of ILWU Local 63, said the "battle is not just for the ILWU but for every working man and woman in the United States." A similar theme was echoed by other ILWU speakers on the platform.

Several speakers pointed to President George Bush as being the "real terrorist" for threatening to militarize commercial ports on the waterfront by sending in federal troops to operate the docks.

A large number of union locals from Seattle and the surrounding area were represented in the march and rally. They included Carpenters, Teamsters, Machinists, farm workers, Ironworkers, and others.

Deborah Liatos is a meat packer and a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 120.

FROM PATHFINDER



The Working Class & the Transformation of Learning

The Fraud of Education Reform under Capitalism
By Jack Barnes

"Until society is reorganized so that education is a human activity from the time we are very young until the time we die, there will be no education worthy of working, creating humanity. That is the historic truth." \$3

Available from bookstores listed on page 14.

Longshore workers snatch up 'Militant,' revolutionary books

Continued from front page

longshore and port workers over a week was surpassed in just four days.

Workers in the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) are locked in a fight with the bosses' Pacific Maritime Association over the right of the union to maintain control of the "hiring hall" and over job security. The Bush administration has threatened to impose the union-busting Taft-Hartley Act and to call in the military as strikebreakers. Rallies condemning these threats took place in several ports along the Pacific Coast on August 12, including this one.

Campaigners in Los Angeles are leading the pack with sales of more than 90 *Militants* to dockworkers. Twenty-two workers picked up the paper on the first day of the sales effort.

At an August 12 rally in Long Beach, more than 50 were sold, along with a range of books, including two copies of *The Working-Class and the Transformation of Learning*, *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*, *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*, and *Che Guevara y la lucha por el socialismo hoy*. More books were sold, along with 19 copies of the *Militant*, at the union's dispatch center early that morning.

The firsthand coverage from Argentina and Venezuela grabbed the interest of many workers, as well as the article and statement on their fight.

Campaigners for the socialist ticket in California—Nan Bailey for governor, William Kalman for lieutenant governor, and Olympia Newton for secretary of state—passed out campaign flyers at the rally and signed up half a dozen youth and workers to join in the effort. Both Bailey and Newton campaigned in person here, introducing themselves to many longshoremen.

BY DANNY BOOHER

SEATTLE—Socialists in Seattle started off their effort to sell the *Militant* to longshore workers with a visit to the International Longshore and Warehouse Union hall August 9. They came on payday, and were joined by two members of the ILWU who are readers of the *Militant*. Workers purchased 14 copies of the paper and more than \$100 in Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

At the August 12 march and rally in support of the ILWU's fight for a contract, 43 copies of the *Militant* and several more Pathfinder titles were sold. The most popular pamphlet was *Coal Miners on Strike*, five

copies of which were sold. Members of the ILWU wanted to learn about the miners' fight against then-president James Carter, who invoked the Taft-Hartley Act against the United Mine Workers of America during the national coal strike in 1978.

The socialist campaign table at a farm workers' celebration in Yakima, Washington, August 11 was also well-received. Three people bought subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and several walked away with books. About \$120 in Pathfinder literature was sold.

Socialist workers and young socialists will expand their reach to longshore workers over the next several days, visiting the docks in nearby Tacoma, and Portland, Oregon.



BY BERNIE SENTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign sold 53 copies of the *Militant*, a subscription to that publication, and \$35 worth of Pathfinder literature to longshore and port workers here August 9–13. Papers have been sold at the union hiring hall, where workers are dispatched to job assignments on the docks in both Oakland and San Francisco; to port drivers, whose trucks are staged outside large Oakland ship-



Militant/Shirley Peña

William Kalman, Socialist Workers candidate for lieutenant governor of California, sells *Militant* at August 12 dockworkers' rally in Oakland. *Militant* supporters are campaigning to sell the paper to longshore workers, fighting to defend their union against concessionary demands by the bosses, who are backed by the government.

ping terminals; and at a rally of some 1,000 in Oakland on August 12. William Kalman, the Socialist Workers candidate for lieutenant governor, along with several campaign

supporters, distributed literature at the rally, including a statement from the California Socialist Workers campaign in support of the dockworkers' fight.

IMF 'stability' pact unravels in Brazil

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

In less than a week, U.S. treasury secretary Paul O'Neill's trumpeted \$30 billion International Monetary Fund (IMF) "stability" pact for Brazil unraveled, along with the momentary lift the "loan" package gave the country's stock and bond markets, as well as its currency.

U.S.-based Moody's Investor Service announced August 13 that it had downgraded the debt rating of Brazil, the largest economy in Latin America and home to 170 million people. The downgrade increased speculation among big-business commentators that the government may, like its counterpart in Argentina, be forced to default on interest payments on its colossal national debt.

The IMF decision, announced August 8, had sparked a short-lived rally of the country's beleaguered currency. In a couple of days the *real* climbed about 2 percent against the U.S. dollar, briefly reversing its weeks-long decline. The country's Bovespa

stock price index also rose, as did the share prices of U.S. and European banks and corporations holding loans or investments in Brazil's economy. "Markets Make Merry Over Brazil—for Now," read the headline in the August 9 *Wall Street Journal*.

The IMF \$30 billion package slightly exceeded the \$25 billion U.S. banks such as J.P. Morgan Chase, FleetBoston, and Citicorp have loaned to Brazil. As a result, FleetBoston's stock price was lifted 7.8 percent on the news of the IMF loan package.

By August 13, however, the real had fallen back more than 8 percent from its spurt, gains in the price of the government's foreign currency bonds had been wiped out, and reports of the first roll-on effects in North America, Asia, and Europe were beginning to come in.

In their announcement, Moody's downgraded a range of key government bonds by a full notch, effectively passing a negative verdict on the reliability of loans and investments in the country. The decision puts Brazil on a par with crisis-wracked countries like Nicaragua and Venezuela. The agency also commented on the IMF package, noting its "backloaded and conditional nature."

Only \$6 billion of the IMF money has been promised for this year. The rest will come due after the presidential elections, and "will be delivered only if the new president sticks to the plan after taking office in January," reported the *Journal*.

The "plan" includes an annual budget surplus of almost 4 percent of the country's gross domestic product, only achievable with ongoing cuts in government spending that will deeply impact millions of working people.

Fear about election

"The IMF loan is structured to induce the...presidential front-runners, Luiz Inácio da Silva and Ciro Gomes, to continue the conservative economic policies of the outgoing president, Fernando Henrique Cardoso," continued the New-York based voice of big business. The two candidates score 34 percent and 29 percent in public opinion polls, well above the ruling party's candidate.

Da Silva or "Lula," the candidate of the Workers Party, who leads the opinion polls, has described the IMF agreement as "inevitable." While criticizing "the errors committed by the government in the last eight years," da Silva said that the loan package "allows the markets to calm, and with that, gives a chance for the country to return to growth if the right measures are taken."

In spite of such reassurances, the big capi-

talists in both Brazil and overseas continue to express trepidation about the election, fearing the growing instability and the increased expectations among workers and peasants that would accompany defeat for the governing party and success for da Silva.

Investors are "spooked by Brazil's dynamics on its \$250 billion debt pile and the prospect of a leftist president in 2003," wrote David Chance in an August 13 Reuters dispatch.

"The underlying reason" for Moody's verdict, said economist David Lubin to Chance, "must be that the market has decided that the IMF deal lacks credibility." It is "conceivable," he said, "that \$30 billion is insufficient to stave off a deeper problem."

The IMF package enabled a number of foreign investors to "ease their exit" from their Brazilian "risks," observed Chance. Before the brief rally dissolved, the *Journal* quoted a foreign relations pundit who said, "I think the IMF accord has resolved the problem for the banks and the financial sector, but it doesn't resolve the real problems for Brazil."

"Who, exactly, is being bailed out?" asked *New York Times* columnist Paul Krugman, who endorsed the IMF package.

A default in Brazil would be "a big problem for the rest of the world," wrote Robert Samuelson in the *Washington Post*. "It would also hurt the rest of Latin America—already reeling from Argentina's default and turmoil in Colombia and Venezuela."

Western Sahara

Continued from Page 4

distributed during a large festival in memory of a local religious leader. A banner declaring, "Sahrawi masses celebrate the anniversary of May 20 with the theme 'despite repression we are a people who do not die' and 'we congratulate Sahrawi human rights defenders, particularly Sidi Mohamed Daddach'" was prominently displayed. Daddach spent 23 years in Moroccan jails before being released in November 2001, after a concerted campaign for his freedom that drew international support.

Meanwhile, the SADR released 100 Moroccan prisoners of war in June after talks with the German government. After the release, the Polisario Front pointed out that 226 Sahrawi prisoners of war remain imprisoned in Morocco.

Annalucia Vermunt is a member of the Meat Workers Union in Christchurch, New Zealand.

Social Security 'no match' letters force tens of thousands from jobs

BY RÓGER CALERO

The Social Security Administration has sent "no match" letters to more than 800,000 businesses that employ more than 7 million people listing workers whose names or Social Security numbers do not match the agency's files. This is an eight-fold increase from the 100,000 letters sent in previous years.

Thousands of workers unable to fix the discrepancies are often being fired or forced to leave their jobs. Many workers are being fired without even having a chance to prove whether they have work permits. The National Immigration Law Center estimates that as many as 100,000 workers may have already lost their jobs as a result of the letters.

The *Mercury News* in California ran a May 15 article on a spate of firings from companies in the Bay Area, many of them involving union members. "Some employers set artificial deadlines for employees to fix errors under threat of termination, and some demand documentation from employees, which can be illegal as the Social Security letter itself states," the paper reported.

The Social Security Administration claims the operation is not aimed at immigrant workers, but that they are tackling a "bookkeeping problem," in the words of the *Washington Post*.

A worker can receive a "no-match" letter for discrepancies as common as a misspelled name in the employer's records.

"The impact is enormous," said Cecilia Muñoz of the National Council of La Raza to the *Washington Post*. "We are hearing about it from all over the country."

A recent report by the Pew Hispanic Center estimated the number of workers without work permits to be less than 4 percent of the U.S. labor force. These workers are mainly concentrated in construction, textile, meatpacking, agriculture, and the hotel industry. Federal officials reported some \$4.9 billion was received in 1999, the last year records are available, from workers and employers in which the Social Security number did not match government files.

The government moves won backing from anti-immigrant organizations. David Ray, a spokesman for the Federation for American Immigration Reform, welcomed the agency's steps, saying that the government "had to crack down on fake social security numbers as part of its anti-terrorist campaign," according to the *Washington Post*. He added that the "government couldn't announce measures to tighten the border and increase tracking of visiting foreigners while ignoring the key U.S. identity number."

U.S. gov't rejects court order in Hamdi case

Continued from Page 1

efforts to bring to justice those responsible for the heinous attacks of September 11, and increases the risk of future terrorist threats to our nation."

Four days later the Justice Department let pass a deadline for turning over notes and other information to U.S. District Judge Robert Doumar in Norfolk, Virginia. The judge said he needed the material to verify the government claim that U.S. citizen Yaser Esam Hamdi is an "enemy combatant" and outside of protection of the U.S. Constitution.

Government refuses to file charges

Hamdi was captured in Afghanistan last November during Washington's bombing campaign. He was kidnapped by U.S. forces and sent to Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, where he was imprisoned in outdoor cages along with hundreds of others. Hamdi was transferred to a military prison in Norfolk, Virginia, after repeatedly informing his captors that he had been born in the United States and was a U.S. citizen. The government has so far refused to file charges against him nor allow him to see a lawyer.

Hamdi's lawyers filed suit to be able to visit him. Doumar twice issued orders to the government to allow Hamdi to receive legal representation. Both times the Justice Department successfully appealed the ruling. In July a circuit court refused to rule on the merits of the case, tipping its hat to the government by stating that the "political branches are best positioned to comprehend this global war." But the judge also said Doumar needed more facts, because otherwise "any American citizen alleged to be an enemy combatant could be detained indefinitely without charges or counsel."

Judge Doumar then ordered the Justice Department to provide him with documents to support the enemy combatant designation, including copies of Hamdi's statements, notes from interviewers, a chronology of his locations, and the names and addresses of his interrogators.

Government prosecutors asserted that "the military should not need to supply a court with the raw notes from interviews with a captured enemy combatant...or the other types of information listed in the court's order."

After allowing Doumar's August 6 noon deadline to pass without handing over the requested documents, the Justice Department stated in a legal memo: "An inspection of the requested materials would all but amount to a [new] review of the military's enemy combatant determination, and thus exceed the limited standard of review governing the executive determination at issue."

Hamdi's lawyer, Frank Dunham, a public defender appointed by the court to represent him, said, "The government is doing everything it can to avoid reaching the merits of the case."

The American Bar Association released a report criticizing the government policy and insisted that U.S. citizens labeled as enemy combatants should have access to courts and legal counsel. "It cannot be sufficient for a president to claim that the executive can deem whomever it wants, whenever it wants, for as long as it wants as the detention bears some relationship to a terrorist act once committed by somebody against the United States,"

the organization stated.

Another U.S. citizen jailed without charges under "enemy combatant" designation is Abdullah al-Muhajir. His arrest last May was accompanied by a high-profile press conference by U.S. attorney general John Ashcroft, who accused him of "plotting" to set off a radiological bomb in the United States. He was moved to a military prison in Charleston, South Carolina, in early June. He has been held in solitary confinement and denied the right to see an attorney ever since.

Despite Ashcroft's assertions, high-level officials at the time told the press that they had so little evidence against Muhajir they couldn't bring a case against him to court. Muhajir's former name was José Padilla.

The August 19 *Newsweek* reports that "authorities" told the magazine they are "not even interested in making a case: they want to force Padilla to tell what he knows about al Qaeda." The official said, "If this guy thinks he might be there for 20 years with no recourse, he might just say 'OK, let's talk.'"

Court challenge to secret jailings

In the case of the 1,200 people secretly jailed by federal authorities, the judge's decision came in response to a lawsuit filed by the Center for National Security Studies and 21 other groups, including the Council on American Islamic Relations, the American Civil Liberties Union, Amnesty International USA, and Human Rights Watch. Under the Freedom of Information Act the lawsuit demanded the names of inmates, their lawyers, the identities of the courts presiding over their cases, and all documents related to the policy.

Judge Gladys Kessler of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia ruled that the "first priority of the judicial branch must be to ensure that our government always operates within the statutory and constitutional constraints which distinguish a democracy from a dictatorship." She gave the Justice Department 15 days to release the names and also ordered the government to disclose the names of all "material witnesses"—those who the government claims may have information related to its so-called terrorism investigation.

Kate Martin of the Center for National Security Studies said the ruling is a "total rejection of the attorney general's rationale for secretly arresting over 1,000 people. It's a vindication of the proposition that the courts will stop abuses even in times of crisis."

Similar legal battles against secret detentions are being fought in federal courthouses around the country. Federal judges in Detroit, and Newark, New Jersey, have ordered secret deportation proceedings opened to the public. The rulings have been appealed by the Justice Department.

The secret hearings flowed from instructions written 10 days after the attacks on the World Trade Center by the nation's chief immigration judge, Michael Creppy. "Each of these cases is to be heard separately from all other cases on the docket," he instructed judges across the country. "The courtroom must be closed for these cases—no visitors, no family, and no press."

Creppy said the restriction also barred the courts from "confirming or denying whether such a case is on the docket."



Protesters in New York in January oppose the detention of around 350 Arab and South Asian immigrants in New Jersey jails. On August 2 the courts ordered the government to release the names of the 1,200 people detained nationally since September 11.

The Justice Department has asserted that the courts have no authority to interfere in these immigration cases because they are not really trials, just merely "administrative hearings." Those who have violated visa regulations have no right to a public defender.

Workers jailed on visa violations

Most of the people snatched up in the government dragnet were Arab or Muslim workers—cab drivers, construction workers, or other laborers—who spent up to seven months in jail before being released. The majority of them were jailed on immigration violations. They were picked up haphazardly, for example, at traffic stops and bus and train stations. So far, the government has failed to produce evidence that any of the detainees had significant information connected to its terrorism investigation.

Two Indian men, Mohammed Jaweed Azmath and Syed Gul Mohammed Shah, seized by federal agents on September 12, were pulled off an Amtrak train near Fort Worth, Texas, and dubbed as "material witnesses" to reporters. They were held in solitary confinement in New York jails for extended periods. One of them did not get an attorney until 91 days after being jailed and it took 57 days before the other man received a lawyer. Under the law a person jailed as a material witness is entitled to a government-paid attorney. Their lawyers now say the men were jailed on immigration violations.

They were interrogated "often times for several hours a day, with multiple interviewers, getting rapid-fire questions from three or four different people," said Anthony Ricco, the attorney for Azmath.

Unable to pin any involvement with the September 11 attacks on the two men, the government charged them with credit card fraud. The men pled guilty to the charge and are awaiting sentencing.

Another person jailed as a material witness, Nabil Almarab, an immigrant from Syria, was working at a liquor store in Chicago when he was arrested as a "major terrorism suspect" last September. He spent eight months in solitary confinement, was denied a lawyer, and did not attend any judicial proceeding during his eight months in the hole at Brooklyn's Metropolitan Detention Center. While the government presented no evidence connecting him with supposedly terrorist activity, he is expected to be deported on an immigration charge.

While the majority of the 1,200 immigrants who were rounded up have been reportedly released or deported, "an unknown number are still being held as material witnesses," the *Washington Post* reported August 3. Kessler said the government's use of the material witness statute was "deeply troubling." The public "has no idea whether there are 40, 400, or possibly more people in detention on material witness warrants," she stated.

In a related development, a federal judge dismissed efforts on behalf of 16 captives at the prison camp at the U.S. naval base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, to end Washington's policy of holding them without charges, access to lawyers, or trial dates.

"The court concludes that the military base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, is outside the sovereign territory of the United States," wrote U.S. District Judge Colleen Kollar-Kotelly. "Given that...writs of habeas corpus are not available to aliens held outside the sovereign territory of the United States, this court does not have the jurisdiction" to rule on the case, she added.

The 16 plaintiffs—two British citizens, two Australians, and 12 Kuwaitis—are among nearly 600 inmates now imprisoned at the camp. Washington has refused to give the men—who come from 38 countries—prisoner of war status, since that would entitle them to a number of rights, including the right to be repatriated after the war in Afghanistan is over.

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Support West Coast Dockworkers' Fight. Speaker: Nancy Rosenstock, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Aug. 16, 7:30 p.m. 168 Bloomfield Ave., 2nd Floor. Donation: \$4. Tel: (973) 481-0077.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

The Mine Flood in Pennsylvania: Labor's Fight for Safety. Speaker: Roger Calero, Militant staff writer. Fri., Aug. 16, 7:30 p.m. 372A 53rd St. (at 4th Ave.) Donation: \$5. Tel: (718) 567-8014.

Garment District

From Argentina to Paraguay: Crisis and Class Struggle in South America—Prospects for Building the World Socialist Movement. Speakers: Martin Koppel, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of New York, and Romina Green, Young Socialists, participants in Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists team to Paraguay and Argentina. Fri., Aug. 16, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6:30 p.m. 545 8th Avenue, 14th Floor. Donation: \$5 dinner, \$4 program. Tel: (212) 695-7358.

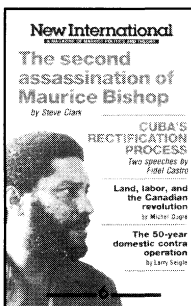
Upper Manhattan

The Mine Flood in Pennsylvania: Labor's Fight for Safety. Speaker: Betsy Farley, Socialist Workers Party, and member of United Mine Workers of America. Fri., Aug. 16, 7:30 p.m. 599 W. 187th Street, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$5. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

—CALENDAR—

WASHINGTON, D.C.

'Battle of Cuito Cuanavale—Response to the South African Escalation.' Documentary by Cuban filmmakers of the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola, 1988, where Cuban, Angolan, and Namibian forces turned back an invasion by the South African army. One hour, followed by discussion. Sponsored by the Africa-Cuba Speakers Committee. *Sankofa Books and Video*, 2714 Georgia Ave. Donation: \$6. Tel: (202) 841-1725.



In New International no. 6

Washington's 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation

LARRY SEIGLE

As the U.S. rulers prepared to smash working-class resistance and join the interimperialist slaughter of World War II, the national political police apparatus as it exists today was born. Documents the consequences for the labor, Black, antiwar, and other social movements and how the working-class vanguard has fought over the past fifty years to defend democratic rights against government and employer attacks. \$15.00

FBI ON TRIAL

The Victory in the Socialist Workers Party Suit against Government Spying

EDITED BY MARGARET JAYKO

The victory in the case fought from 1973 to 1987 "increases the space for politics, expands the de facto use of the Bill of Rights, increases the confidence of working people that you can be political and hold the deepest convictions against the government and it's your right to do so and act upon them" — from the introduction. \$17.95

PATHFINDER

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No secret trials or detentions!

The U.S. rulers are bumping into resistance across the country to their attempts to erode workers' rights and constitutional liberties. The legal battles unfolding in several federal courts reflect opposition from working people to the Bush administration's steps in jailing citizens without charges and denying them the right to legal counsel. And the Justice Department is running into problems in getting the courts to rubber-stamp its secret arrests and detentions of 1,200 people, hundreds of whom possibly remain incarcerated.

The arguments presented by the Justice Department in court hearings—that the actions of the executive branch of government concerning wartime actions are not subject to judicial review—build on the moves by the Clinton administration.

It was the great liberal who paved the way for the use of secret courts to jail noncitizens based on “secret evidence” under the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act that he signed into law in 1996. During the final years of his administration, under the Star Chamber provisions of this legislation, the U.S. government subjected some two dozen people—mostly immigrants from Arab or other majority Muslim countries—to “preventive detention” without bail.

The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, signed by Clinton in 1996, permitted the Immigration and Naturalization Service to round up and deport those charged with being “illegal” immigrants without the right to judicial review or appeal. And the administration exploited its outrageous six-month refusal to return the Cuban child Elián González to his country to set up its armed raid in Miami and establish legal precedents for reinforcing the INS's powers that are exempt from review by the courts.

While the Justice Department's refusal to turn over papers to U.S. District Court judge Robert Doumar concerning its designation of Yaser Esam Hamdi as an “enemy combatant” is described in the big business press as “unprecedented,” it is in fact not new.

In 1937 growing public protests against government violations of constitutional rights forced the U.S. Supreme Court to rule that a federal law barring wiretaps applied to the FBI. Three years later, however, President Franklin Roosevelt secretly instructed the Justice Department to ignore the court ruling and “to authorize the necessary investigating agents that they are at liberty to secure information by listening devices directed to the conversation or other communications of persons suspected of sub-

versive activities against the government of the United States, including spies.”

This action was part of Washington's preparation for entry into the inter-imperialist slaughter of World War II. FBI field offices were instructed to recruit or place informers in every plant in war production, which involved most of the large factories in the country. It provided the basis for decades of spying and disruption carried out against the Socialist Workers Party and other opponents of U.S. government policy. In the SWP's historic lawsuit against the government's Cointelpro operation, Attorney General Griffin Bell refused a federal court judge's order to turn over files on 18 FBI informers. Bell was held in contempt of court for his action.

“National security” directives by the executive branch in violation of constitutional rights, such as that issued by Roosevelt, take aim at working people and their struggles at home. Such actions are part and parcel of how U.S. imperialism functions.

As in the 1930s, the assault on workers' rights at home runs parallel to the imperialist war drive abroad. Both aspects of this drive have full bipartisan support. Hardly a peep of opposition has been heard from the Democrats in Congress who not so long ago railed against Attorney General John Ashcroft's nomination, and who tried to portray themselves as defenders of working people in the process. No drive has been mounted in Congress to challenge the nearly four months of detention without charges or access to a lawyer—in violation of every sentence of the Fourth Amendment—of Abdullah al-Muhajir, accused by Ashcroft of “plotting” to detonate a radiological bomb. Even the pretense of a case against Muhajir is being given up by government officials, who now assert they will simply interrogate him until he “talks.”

At home, working people who stand up to the employers' assault on their working conditions and standard of living are also considered the enemy of the wealthy class—from dockworkers on the West Coast resisting the shipping bosses' concession demands to garment workers in Florida demanding union rights.

The labor movement needs to throw its weight behind the protests and lawsuits against government attempts to gut the Bill of Rights. Standing together and using collective power to defend workers' rights, while fighting the bosses' attempts to drive down living standards and working conditions, is the road forward to strengthening workers and farmers against their common enemy—the superwealthy rulers of the world's final empire.

Atlanta march protests cop killing of youth

BY BILL ARTH

ATLANTA—Two hundred people marched down busy Peachtree Street here August 3 to demand justice for Corey Ward, an 18-year-old Black youth who was shot and killed in Buckhead by Atlanta police officer Raymond Bunn two weeks earlier. Buckhead is a suburb of Atlanta.

Chanting “No justice, no peace! No racist police!” the marchers were greeted by many supportive honks from cars passing by on the busy street during the late-evening action. Peachtree Street includes a busy strip of nightclubs and restaurants that are frequented by a mostly white clientele. While many Blacks also go there, Black youth are routinely subjected to police harassment in the area.

Ward was shot July 14 at 3:30 a.m. while driving his mother's SUV with five other youths as passengers. Officer Bunn claims he shot Ward when Ward tried to run him over. Supporters of Ward say he was trying to get away after Bunn, who had not identified himself as a police officer, got out of his unmarked car, and approached Ward with a gun. The five surviving passengers face criminal charges for allegedly trying to break into a parked car in the area. Bunn is on administrative leave.

The Buckhead protest was the second action demanding justice for Ward. On July 25, 250 people rallied outside City Hall East in Atlanta. Both protests were attended by family and friends of Ward, including many of his high school classmates. Also participating were many others with their own stories of police abuse.

One was Ylia Lavender, who suffered a broken eye socket from Bunn in September 2000 after he ordered her to turn down her car stereo. She is considering filing a joint suit with Ward's family. She was introduced to the participants in the Buckhead march.

In previous incidents, Michael Jascomb had suffered a retinal hemorrhage during an arrest by Bunn; Mark Norfleet claimed that Bunn hit him in the head with a nightstick during an arrest; and Joe Summers accused Bunn and a group of other officers of taking him in an alley and beating him. All of these charges were dismissed.

Bud Watson, president of the Georgia Police Benevolent Association, said of Bunn: “He is the kind of officer we need.... He is an aggressive, young, hard-working police officer. And when you are aggressive, people say you are excessive.”

Rev. Markel Hutchins, a central organizer of the protests, said to the Buckhead rally that Corey Ward's “only crime was being young, Black, male, and in a new SUV. We have come to say to Police Chief Pennington: ‘Fire R. S. Bunn and fire him right now.’” Hutchins said. “We have come to say to District Attorney Paul Howard: ‘Call for a grand jury indictment. Put this rascal behind bars right now.’ In Stone Mountain, the Ku Klux Klan once wore white robes. Now they've moved a little north to Buckhead and put on blue uniforms. We don't want to see what happened to Corey happen to any other young person,” he said. “Every time a trigger-happy police officer gets ready to shoot, we want him to think about the hundreds who marched in Buckhead.”

Eleanor Garcia, the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate in Georgia, participated in both protests. “We demand that the cops responsible for the murder of Corey Ward be suspended without pay and prosecuted and jailed to the fullest extent of the law,” Garcia told the *Militant*. “To win a victory in this fight will take an organized and sustained movement in the streets, and will advance other fights against police brutality.”

Many working people in Atlanta are following this fight closely. Edward Cooper III, a 24-year-old meat packer at Hormel, said he knew Ward. “I didn't realize he was so young,” he said. “The police get suspended with pay. If it was one of us, we would be getting the death penalty—no questions asked.”

Bill Arth is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1996 and works at Hormel. Arlene Rubinstein, also a member of UFCW Local 1996, contributed to this article.

U.S. banks

Continued from Page 5

2.41 percent of outstanding loans, or around \$5 billion, nearly four times the percentage just two years earlier. J.P. Morgan alone took \$807 million in write-offs in the fourth quarter of 2001, related to loan and trading losses tied to Enron and Argentina.

The capitalist crisis is deeply affecting banks throughout the imperialist centers of Europe as well. Shares in European banks fell nearly 25 percent from the middle of May through the end of July.

“There will be a significant increase in corporate collapses across Europe,” stated Tony Thompson, head of European corporate recovery at KPMG. “I'd expect the impact on the banks to be very grave.” The outlook is “bleakest in Germany,” reported a July 31 *Financial Times* article. According to Creditreform, a German credit data bureau, insolvencies in Germany will end the year up about 23.5 percent at a record 40,000.

Back longshore workers' fight

Longshore workers rallying at West Coast ports deserve the backing of all working people and the active support of every union in the country. They are not only up against the antiunion and concessionary drive of the bosses, but the heavy hand of the U.S. government.

Workers at the August 12 rallies point out that government threats to invoke the Taft-Hartley law and to mobilize the Navy directly aid the bosses. Other threats include breaking up the union's coastwide bargaining power and the passage of legislation to limit its ability to strike. One government official warned the union that the government “will use any means necessary to make sure our troops in the field get what they need.”

The extent of the government threats was confirmed by International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) vice president Bob McEllrath, who said they are something he had “never seen before” in past negotiations.

The real aim of the U.S. rulers is to reinforce the employers' stand by tying the hands of the union. They seek to prevent workers from exercising their collective strength and withholding their labor power from the bosses. The workforce has the potential to exercise tremendous economic and social power. Their labor keeps the ports running, moving \$300 billion of exports and imports into and out of the United States each year. The docks are a vital center in the multibillionaire rulers' world-spanning empire.

The August 12 ILWU actions demanded the government cease its threats and butt out of the negotiations. Union flyers at the rallies, along with workers' comments to *Militant* reporters, indicate the rejection by many union members of the government's attempt to use its war drive to prevent a strike.

Many workers on the docks know that without hard-fought strikes and ongoing skirmishes, the bosses would have already imposed sharp wage reductions, job cuts, and dangerous working conditions on the docks. Without the ability of the union to conduct work stoppages, the employers have the upper hand.

To this end the bosses and their government have a long history of attempting to use the Taft-Hartley law to throttle

union struggles. Their success or failure has hinged on the strength of the targeted union and the determination of the workers at the time.

In 1947 more than 11,000 coal miners in Pennsylvania walked off the job in protest at what they called the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor bill awaiting President Harry Truman's signature. Although the strike was not official it rapidly mushroomed through the Pittsburgh area. The refusal of the top union officials of the day to build on this rank-and-file rebellion thwarted the effort to deep-six the antiunion legislation.

In 1971 President Richard Nixon invoked the Taft-Hartley law against West Coast longshoremen during a nationwide strike that came close to tying up the country's coastal ports.

Half a decade later, President James Carter tried to use the Slave Labor law against coal miners during their 110-day strike in 1977–78. He threatened to fine or jail their union leaders, confiscate their union treasuries, and cut off food stamps for their families. The miners stood up to the threat and forced the government to back down. The coal companies quickly came up with a new contract proposal.

The rallies and mobilizations by the dockworkers are part of the ongoing resistance of working people both in the United States and around the world to the unrelenting assaults by the bosses and their governments. Working people, farmers, and revolutionary-minded youth can join upcoming rallies by the longshore union, tell the truth about the offensive by the bosses and their government, and spread the word about the dockworkers' fight.

The success enjoyed by *Militant* sales teams this week shows the interest among workers on the dock in a working-class and socialist newspaper and in the revolutionary literature published by Pathfinder. Many workers know there are broad political questions involved in this class conflict and want to gain a better understanding of world politics in order to wage a more effective struggle. Joining these teams, and helping to get the paper and Pathfinder books out widely to working people and youth across the United States, is another crucial contribution to the struggle.

Quick flip 101—A New York State appeals court panel ruled it wasn't illegal to deny lower income people their share of education



Harry Ring

funding. According to the *New York Times*, the reasoning of the judges suggested that New York City students, for example, were doing all right if the state pittance qualified them for jobs as "fast food cooks or bike messengers." The court's 4-1 opinion observed: "Society needs

workers in all levels of jobs."

In-depth education—The Flint, Michigan, school superintendent proposed that future public schools be built mostly underground to save on heating and air conditioning.

How to really use a bonfire—Delaware Tech and J.P. Morgan Chase sponsored a "Bank It!" day-camp to introduce youngsters to the world of finance and banking. A Delaware reader sent the leaflet plus the irate comment, "Kids should go to camp and learn to cook hot dogs, not how to cook the books!"

One for our side—"Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania—A Pennsylvania judge ruled against a man who is trying to stop his pregnant former

girlfriend from aborting their child. The judge declared that a woman's right to an abortion was not subject to veto by husband or partner."—*Los Angeles Times*, August 7.

What a novel idea—"County hospitals trim costs by hiking rates for the poor."—Headline, Oakland, California, *Tribune*.

Mixed metaphor—"Terry McAuliffe, the Democratic [Party] chairman, calls Enron 'a metaphor for the Bush administration' after making some \$18 million on a \$100,000 insider's stake in the now bankrupt Global Crossing."—News commentary.

'Militant' subscription anyone?—A letter to the Milwaukee

Journal Sentinel and reprinted in *Accounting World* fumes at media adjectives on criminal corporate exposures: "Corporate greed, corporate accounting irregularities, corporate missteps, corporate cheaters...[But] the word is crime. Corporate crime!"

The rational society—"Connecticut's four drug courts will be closed August 1 as part of state budget cuts. The courts offered drug treatment programs instead of jail time to drug addicts facing nonviolent drug charges. About 170 addicts will be put back in the regular court system where they could face jail time.... Closing the courts is expected to save \$1 million."—News Item.

The non-alienated society—

Some years back we were a bit surprised to learn that some stressed-out folks joined therapy groups in order to learn how to scream. Now we read about a fellow in Germany who was busted for walking in a forest screaming loudly. Cops said they collared him after area complaints, and he told them it was his way of relieving the stress of everyday life. He faces a \$75 fine and was advised to find other means of simmering down.

Thought for the week—"Nasdaq sinks to five-year low; Dow drops 269—Fearful investors flee to Treasury securities as another economic report suggests that the recovery may be running out of steam."—August 6 *Los Angeles Times* business section.

Construction begins on nuclear plant in N. Korea

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

On August 7 workers began pouring the concrete for the foundations of a light-water nuclear power plant in Kumho, on north Korea's northeast coast. The event came after five years of repeated delays by the U.S. government, which had pledged to help complete two such plants by 2005 under the 1994 Agreed Framework signed with north Korea.

At a ceremony marking the event, Kim Hyui Mun, north Korea's general director for the project, said, "We ought to be compensated for the delay. We are firm on that with no doubt." The north Korean government explains that it needs such plants to meet the country's power needs.

Jack Pritchard, the U.S. special envoy to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), reiterated Washington's demand that north Korea open its atomic industry to inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the United Nations body originally established under a U.S. Cold War initiative. "The success of the light-water reactor project and the agreed framework ultimately hinges on the choices north Korea makes," he said, adding that Pyongyang must allow "tangible progress" on IAEA inspections.

Charles Kartman, the executive director of the construction consortium, told reporters, "If the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has not done what it is required to do with the IAEA, there is no chance whatsoever that they will get delivery of the critical components for these reactors. What they will end up with instead is a big hole in the ground, a lot of concrete, and some steel fixtures." Kartman, a State Department official who served as a representative of President William Clinton at 1998 talks with Pyongyang, justified the years of delays as being in "the nature of a political project

like this."

Led by Washington, the consortium will include representation from Japan, the European Union, and south Korea, whose government is providing the lion's share of the \$4.6 billion cost.

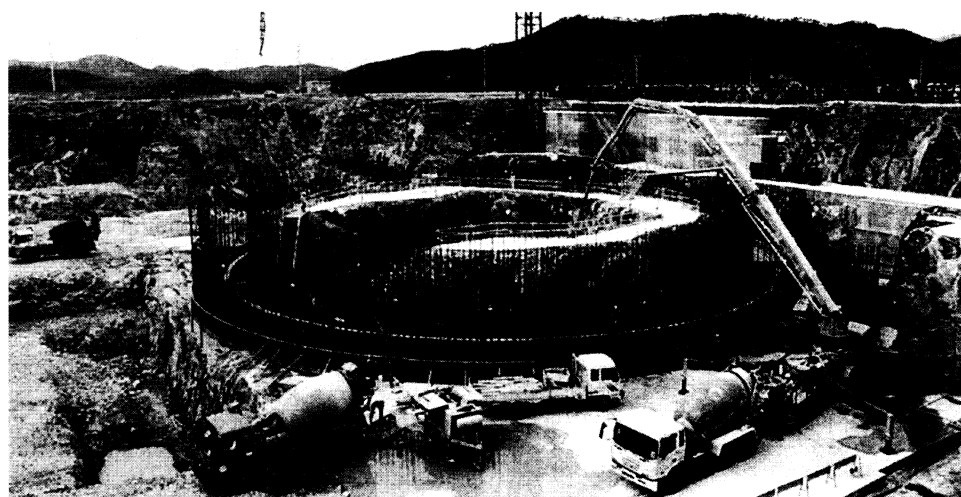
The 1994 agreement followed a period of increased U.S. propaganda and threats against the northern workers state. The U.S. government, which stations 37,000 troops in south Korea and patrols the area with its nuclear-armed Seventh Fleet, accused the DPRK of stockpiling plutonium formed as a by-product of the operation of its reactors and using it to develop nuclear weapons. Secretary of Defense William Perry admitted the following year that military strikes had been prepared against the north at the time.

Under the Agreed Framework, the U.S. government pledged to build the light-water reactors, which do not yield the same amounts of plutonium, and to supply heavy fuel oil to the north until their completion. For its part, Pyongyang closed two graphite reactors, halted the construction of another, and allowed IAEA officials to monitor its disposal of spent nuclear fuel.

'Axis of evil'

Washington has declared north Korea part of an "axis of evil," along with Iran and Iraq, because they are countries whose governments are at odds with U.S. imperialism and have the technical and economic capacity to develop long-range missiles and nuclear, biological, or chemical warheads. Washington claims the right to carry out "preemptive" military strikes against such countries to prevent steps toward deployment of any such weapons systems.

At the time of the 1994 agreement, north Korea's agricultural and industrial production were reeling under the one-two punch of the slump in its foreign trade following



Concrete foundations are prepared for nuclear reactor at Kumho, north Korea.

the collapse of the Soviet Union and a succession of disastrous floods.

The big-business media has carried a number of reports of policy moves by the north Korean government aimed at increasing availability of agricultural goods. Alongside its appeals for increased foreign aid, Pyongyang has reportedly relaxed price controls on basic foodstuffs, increased wages as much as 20 times, and cut back the system of ration cards which gave working people access to state-subsidized food, the *Wall Street Journal* and several other U.S. papers reported.

On August 12-14 the governments of north and south Korea will hold cabinet-level talks in Seoul, the southern capital, for the first time in nine months. The meetings will discuss a number of topics, including the reunions of family members separated in the 1950-53 U.S.-led invasion of Korea, a plan to link up a cross-border rail line, and other joint economic projects.

At the end of July, north Korea's foreign

minister Paek Nam Sun held talks with U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell at an Asia-Pacific security forum in Brunei—the first official contact since U.S. president Bush's "axis of evil" speech on January 29.

Meanwhile, 500 people rallied in front of the headquarters of the 2nd U.S. Infantry Division at Eujongbu, north of Seoul, on June 26, to demand that U.S. troops involved in a training incident that took the lives of two 14-year-old girls be brought before a south Korean court. They also insisted on an apology from U.S. officers.

Under an "agreement" with Washington, the south Korean government has no jurisdiction over U.S. soldiers involved in accidents while on duty.

The two soldiers were in an armored vehicle that struck and killed the teenagers on June 13 during an exercise on south Korean roads. After conducting an investigation jointly with the south Korean police, U.S. officers declared the deaths to be a "tragic accident."

— LETTERS —

A salute to Anna Wilkie

Anna Wilkie died July 28 from cancer at age 85. She emigrated from Scotland to Canada as an adult. Here she joined the League for Socialist Action, now the Communist League. She recalled how, as a child, she would sit and listen to the blacksmith, who was a communist, discuss the then-young Soviet Socialist Republics with local unemployed workers.

Anna was an unassuming person who felt that she did not have the depth of political understanding that she would have wished, but she had an unerring working-class response to world events. She was active in the York Committee to End the War in Vietnam and was involved in the defense of the Cuban Revolution.

Discussing her life in the last months before her death, it was obvious that she counted the 11 years she worked in the socialist movement as the most important years of her life.

Bea Bryant
Blenheim, Ontario

New Zealand economy

An error was introduced in editing the article I wrote, "Labour calls early election in New Zealand," as it appeared in the printed edition of the July 29 *Militant*. It says, "Labour's course, and its popularity in the polls, reflects the fact that it has been in of-

fice during the strongest upturn in the business cycle lasting more than a decade."

This should have said, "During the strongest upturn in the business cycle in a decade. . . ." There has been an upturn in the business cycle in New Zealand, but only over the past two years. It is the strongest since a sharp but short-lived upturn in 1994. The previous upturn to that was in 1984. Between these highs, annual growth rates have been well below the average for OECD countries over the past two decades, at times dipping into negative figures. The country has dropped from the top half of the OECD rankings to the bottom third.

The current upturn, after a decade of stagnation, is a major factor in the popularity of the current Labour Party-led government that was reelected here July 27, despite the impact on working people of a growing social crisis.

Michael Tucker
Auckland, New Zealand

Please process my sub ASAP

Please process my sub to the *Militant* as soon as possible. It's the only paper that tells the truth. I had a job in the defense industry as an electrical engineer. It took me 10 years of going to school part time to obtain the degree to qualify for the job. In less than two I'm out the door (laid off).

I'm finding no takers in Engineering for

a middle-aged unemployed Black man with hardly any experience. Unemployment, the top rate, is less than half of what I was earning. I can't earn any more money, because if I do they take it out of my benefits. So I'm effectively on "welfare." This is cruel. (I can read the *Militant* on the Web, but having the actual paper is even better.)

John Harris
Providence, Rhode Island

On Venezuela

I have found your coverage on Venezuela excellent and informative. I believe I disagree with your dislike of Chávez's attempt to reign in the CTV [Venezuelan Workers Federation] and your overall analysis of Chávez.

The CTV is an organization that represents the Venezuelan capitalist class. It has succeeded over the years in fooling a certain portion of the relatively well-off Venezuelan working class on this point, but after its support of the bosses' strike there really can be no doubt in the mind of a politically educated viewer. The wholesale recall of its leadership attempted by Chávez would have been an enormous step forward for the Venezuelan working class.

Hugo Chávez is not a reactionary and his labor policy is not and has never been reactionary. The slow pace of change in Venezuela is a major part of what has kept him

and the Bolivarian Republic alive to this point, facing as they do almost alone the might of the world sole superpower.

Theodore Jones
by e-mail

Israeli bombing

In a recent article in the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*, a military source was quoted as saying, in response to the killing of Palestinian civilians in the bombing of a building in Gaza in which a Hamas leader was staying, that the deaths were due to "gaps in information and assessments with regard to the presence of civilians in the apartment in which Shehadeh was hiding out."

Are they trying to tell us that the IDF [Israeli Defense Forces] actually believed that an entire apartment building in the most densely populated area in the world might have been free of civilians? Sounds like a pretty big intelligence error. Or a big lie.

Ari Paul
Ann Arbor, Michigan

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people.

Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Lessons from battle over 'surrogate motherhood'

Printed below is an excerpt from *Surrogate Motherhood, Women's Rights, & the Working Class* by Cindy Jaquith. This newly digitized pamphlet is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for August. The item quoted is from an article originally published in the *Militant* on April 24, 1987 titled, "How 'surrogate mother' contracts exploit children and women." The issue of surrogate motherhood was one of the leading news stories in the late 1980s. On Feb. 3, 1988, The New Jersey Supreme Court issued a de-

nurture society can offer.

By taking the child away from her mother, Mary Beth Whitehead, and by upholding a "surrogate mother" contract, Judge Harvey Sorkow has struck a blow against rights for which the working class has fought for over a century and a half.

You would never know this from the debates that raged for weeks in the courtroom and the media. Instead, a myriad of prejudices against women and working people—some falsely presented as feminist ideas—were put forward, along with a generous dose of pseudoscience and mysticism.

If we peel away each layer of the arguments presented, it becomes clear that Sorkow's March 31, 1987, ruling is reactionary and should be reversed. The child should be returned to Whitehead.

The case began when William and Elizabeth Stern went to a surrogacy agency to hire a woman to bear them a child.

Agency head Noel Keane arranged a contract between William Stern and Mary Beth Whitehead. Whitehead signed papers agreeing to be artificially inseminated with Stern's sperm, carry a pregnancy to term, and then deliver her baby to the Sterns for \$10,000 plus medical expenses.

But over the course of her pregnancy and the birth of the baby in March 1986, Whitehead decided she wanted to keep her child, whom she named Sara. She informed the Sterns and said they should keep their \$10,000.

The Sterns filed suit and immediately got Judge Sorkow to order Whitehead to hand her daughter over to them. The Sterns then went to Whitehead's house with five cops to seize five-week-old Sara.

Whitehead escaped with the child to Florida, but private detectives hired by the Sterns tracked them down. The detectives took Sara away and turned her over to the Sterns, who renamed her Melissa.

Judge Sorkow had no right to intervene and take Whitehead's child away. This was not a custody case.

The moment the Sterns asked Sorkow for a court order, he should have refused, since a surrogacy contract has no validity. There is no way a court can make it binding within the framework of the rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

In previous centuries, many working people were forced to immigrate to this

country as indentured servants. They got passage in return for contracting their labor, and often that of their children, as servants for a specific time period once they arrived. If they ceased working for the person who held the contract before the time was up, they went to jail.

This practice of semislavery was outlawed through struggles of workers and farmers in the first half of the nineteenth century. Along with indentured servitude, property qualifications for voting and debtors' prisons were also abolished. So was the practice of shipping companies forcibly dragging seamen back on board if they failed to return to the ship at the end of port calls.

Today, workers cannot be forced to carry out the terms of a contract with an employer if they choose to terminate it for whatever reason. The Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution—won by the victory of the Union in the Civil War—outlaws such contracts.

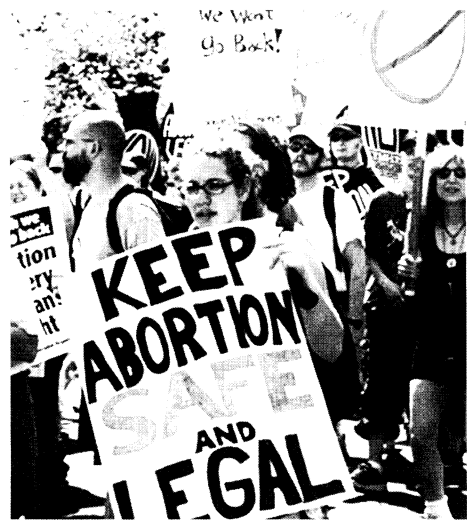
Similar to involuntary servitude

Surrogate mother contracts are similar to involuntary servitude contracts in many respects, and just as exploitative, unjust, and invalid. The woman signs a contract guaranteeing she will carry a pregnancy for someone else for nine months. According to Judge Sorkow's ruling, she is legally bound to this contract whether or not she changes her mind.

This is bad enough—but it's even worse given the nature of the rights she gives up. With the contract she signed Whitehead relinquished control of her body for nine months. She had to agree to "assume all risks" of the pregnancy, "including the risk of death." She had to agree to "abortion on demand of William Stern" if the fetus showed signs of "physiological abnormalities," determined by the doctor being paid by Stern.

Whitehead herself could not choose to have an abortion without "breaking" the contract. She also had to agree not to smoke, drink liquor, or use medications not prescribed by the Stern-paid doctor during her pregnancy. While these conditions were imposed on Whitehead, the contract allowed Stern to terminate the agreement immediately if Whitehead had a miscarriage in the first five months. And he wouldn't have to pay her a cent.

The other side of the contract that has no



Militant Carole Lesnick

March in Washington April 22, 2001, in support of a woman's right to choose abortion. Surrogate contracts are not part of fight for women's right to control their own bodies.

validity is that Whitehead agreed *nine months beforehand* to surrender a child she planned to bear. This is completely inhumane, both to the child and mother. Under adoption law, a woman has a period of time after her baby is born to decide if she wants to put the child up for adoption, even if she concluded at some point in her pregnancy that this is what she wanted to do....

Surrogate contracts are not an extension of the fight for women's right to control their own bodies. That fight is to secure the right of the woman to decide when and if to have children, free from interference from the government, church officials, doctors, husbands, lovers, boyfriends, or any other individuals.

This struggle has embodied the fight for birth control; sex education; safe, legal abortion; and protection from forced sterilization. It is interconnected with the broader struggle by women to be treated equally with men in all aspects of society and not be disqualified because of pregnancy, children, or lack of children.

Surrogacy contracts run completely counter to this struggle, what it has already achieved, and the future it points to. Far from an expansion of women's rights, these contracts deny rights previously conquered by women and working people as a whole.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

cision on the case of "Baby M," reversing a lower court ruling and declaring surrogate mother contracts invalid and illegal in the state. Copyright © 1988 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY CINDY JAQUITH

The New Jersey court case of "Baby M" reveals a brazen disregard for children. The very term "Baby M" captures the callousness with which this infant has been treated, more as an anonymous object than as a human being deserving all the protection and

August BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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U.S., Israel set stage for two-front war

Continued from front page

U.S. imperialists and their junior partners in Israel would create a new axis of power in the region. Working people in the Middle East would face the pincers of a U.S. protectorate in Baghdad and the military garrison state of Israel.

By seeking to conquer Iraq, Washington hopes to strengthen its domination of Kuwait and its oil reserves, and put the rulers of Saudi Arabia on notice that their days are short if they don't do the bidding of U.S. imperialism. Such a scenario sends shudders down the spines of the superwealthy

NEWS ANALYSIS

rulers of France, Germany, Japan, and other major powers whose world position would decline in relation to their rivals in the United States.

Expulsion of entire populations is the time-honored answer of the Israeli rulers to the Palestinian fight for self-determination. The new push being readied involves driving Palestinians into neighboring Jordan, the country frequently named by Sharon as his choice for a future "Palestinian state."

Sharon has cast the escalating assaults on the Palestinians as parallel to Washington's "war on terror," while Washington has in-

neighbors.

Van Creveld wrote that the "expulsion of the Palestinians would require only a few brigades. They would not drag people out of their houses but use heavy artillery to drive them out.... Israeli military experts estimate that such a war could be over in just eight days. If the Arab states do not intervene, it will end with the Palestinians expelled and Jordan in ruins."

If Sharon "decides to go ahead" with this bloody scenario, wrote van Creveld, who opposes such a course, "the only country that can stop him is the United States.... I would not count on it."

Commenting on the political climate in Washington, a Middle Eastern diplomat told the *New York Times*, as reported on August 9, that in the White House "there are those who think the U.S. should not touch Sharon and if the Palestinians want their own state, they should move to Jordan."

Impasse in Israeli policy

The expulsion of the Palestinian population from their land, a course of action that has won the long-standing public backing of a wing of the Israeli ruling class, is posed by the impasse of Israeli policy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In spite of the escalation of their military attacks, the Israeli armed forces have not been able to stifle the Palestinian resistance nor their struggle for self-determination and a homeland.

Having shoved aside the Palestinian Authority and established control of the West Bank through military occupation, the Israeli rulers are now confronted by the devastation their actions have wrought. The Palestinian Red Crescent Society stated on August 5 that in the West Bank city of Nablus "electrical and water systems have sustained heavy damage in much of the old city" during the current Israeli offensive. "Sewage water now covers many of the city streets. A serious health crisis is developing as garbage collection has been hampered."

Testifying before a Knesset committee on August 7, Maj. Gen. Amos Gilad, the armed forces' Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories, sought to play down the reports of a 20 percent level of malnutrition among Palestinian children. "Hunger is when people have swollen bellies and fall over dead," he said. "There is no hunger now."

Sharon's "solution is to call for huge influxes of relief aid, to keep the Palestinians alive while his tanks remain in their cities, and all movement and trading remain banned," reported the August 10 *Economist*.

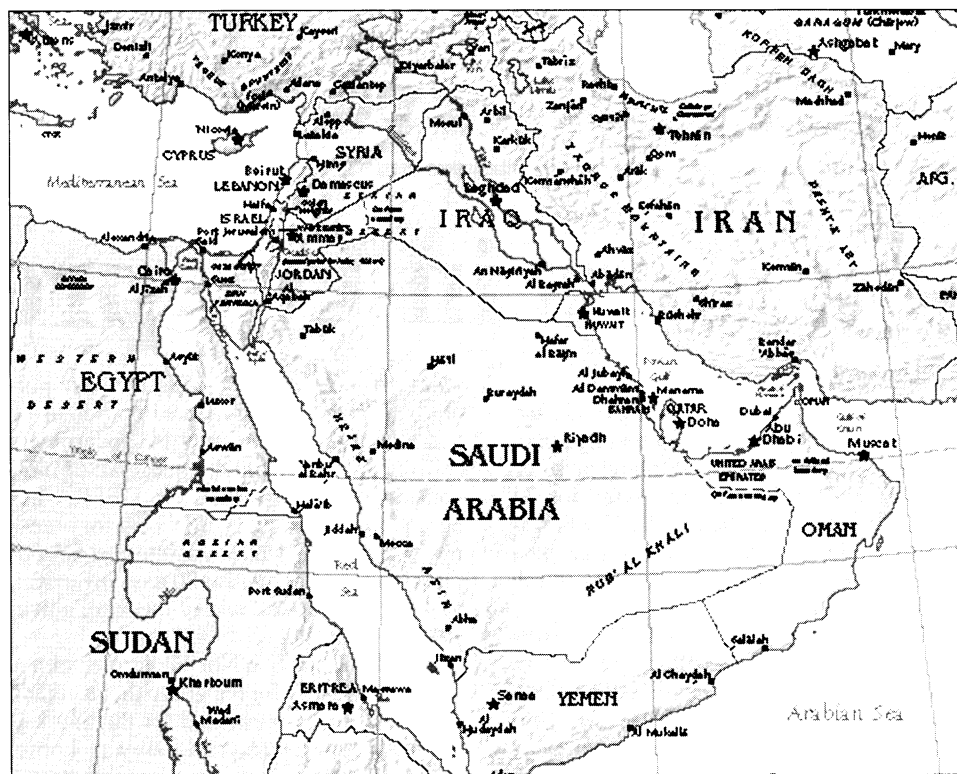
Big-business commentators have noted that such an occupation is neither economically nor politically sustainable. Israeli capitalists who count on hundreds of thousands of Palestinians for cheap labor have been hit hard by the closure of the West Bank and restrictions on movement from Gaza. Tel Aviv has so far been unable to make up for the shortfall by bringing in workers from Asia and elsewhere.

The construction by the Israeli government of the 225-mile "separation fence" between the West Bank from Israel is crawling along at less than a snail's pace. In three months only 120 feet of the structure has been built. From the start, the plan for the fence drew many critics, including leaders of the settlements that honeycomb the West Bank. Opponents also complain that the fence draws a de facto border around Israel, giving legitimacy to Palestinian claims for sovereignty over the West Bank.

Reflecting the frustration among the Israeli rulers over their failure to stifle the resistance, a member of the Knesset or parliament, told the body's Security and Foreign Affairs Committee on August 12 that the Israeli air force should bomb heavily populated Palestinian areas from the air, after delivering a warning to civilians.

War preparations against Iraq

On August 9, officials from the Bush administration met with representatives of exile groups and other parties that oppose the government of Saddam Hussein. The State Department admitted that the groups can claim little support inside Iraq and that it is "premature to talk of a government in exile." The meeting came eight days after congressional hearings that garnered bipartisan support for war.



Following an invitation from the Iraqi parliament to U.S. politicians to visit the country and carry out their own inspections, U.S. vice president Richard Cheney sought to puncture any pretense that Washington will negotiate with Baghdad. Inspections "would be an effort by him [Hussein] to obfuscate, delay and avoid having to live up to the accords that he signed up to at the end of the Gulf War," Cheney said.

Among the scenarios "leaked" by administration and military officials is the "inside out" plan, that would involve the use of troops and massive bombardments to conquer Baghdad block-by-block. One former military official noted that such an approach would involve heavy "collateral damage"—a euphemism for civilian casualties.

Aim is to install a protectorate regime

The next day, Bush told reporters that he had "no imminent war plan" or timetable. He added, reported the *New York Times*, "that Iraq was 'an enemy until proven otherwise' because of its programs to develop chemical, biological and nuclear weapons and the missiles that might carry them."

"Wouldn't it be a wonderful thing if Iraq were similar to Afghanistan, if a bad regime was thrown out.... I mean, it would be fabulous," said Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.

The economic stakes behind the U.S. rulers' drive to replace the government of Saddam Hussein with a compliant regime—effectively a protectorate as is being constructed in Afghanistan—are seen in the oil reserves in Iraq and its neighbors.

At more than 112 billion barrels, the country has the world's second largest proven reserves of oil. Only Saudi Arabia sits atop more, with one-quarter of the global quantity. Adjacent Kuwait, already ruled

by a government that is heavily dependent on Washington's backing, boasts 96 billion barrels, or 9 percent of global reserves. Around 8,000 U.S. troops are stationed in Kuwait, a country of 2 million people.

The position of Saudi Arabia, a traditional ally of Washington, came into the limelight in early July when the conservative Rand Corporation, a group of former senior government officials, delivered a report to the Pentagon claiming that "Saudi Arabia supports our enemies and attacks our allies." The briefing recommended that Washington warn the Saudi king to stop his government's alleged backing of "terrorist" groups, or face seizure of the country's oil fields and financial assets.

Defense Secretary Rumsfeld said the briefing did not represent the "dominant opinion" and assured the Saudi government of Washington's support.

Discussing the document's approach, one administration official said, "The road to the entire Middle East goes through Baghdad. Once you have a democratic regime in Iraq...there are a lot of possibilities."

Saudi foreign minister Prince Saud al-Faisal said in early August that the U.S. military "will not be allowed to use the kingdom's soil in any way for an attack on Iraq." One week later the *Wall Street Journal* noted a "softening of the Saudi position" on joining a U.S. offensive. Prince Saud said that Saudi Arabia will back the assault if it sees "an imminent threat." Washington has reportedly moved military gear from Saudi Arabia to a base in Qatar in recent months.

The Saudi regime was a major supporter of Washington's 1990-91 assault on Iraq, and since then has allowed U.S. planes to take off from its territory in constant patrols of the imperialist-declared "no-fly zones" and frequent attacks on Iraqi targets.



Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon inspects fighter jet.

creasingly given political support to Tel Aviv's repression, in addition to providing ongoing military and economic backing to the colonial settler state.

On August 12 Sharon openly aligned his government with U.S. preparations to strike at Baghdad, saying, in the words of the *Jerusalem Post* summary, that "Iraq now poses the biggest threat to the country.... Coordination with the U.S. is at the highest level ever, and the government should certainly not express opposition to an attack."

Chicago Sun-Times columnist Robert Novak, a right-wing critic of the pro-Tel Aviv policy of the White House, reported that Sharon told a closed-door hearing of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee that "U.S. military action against Iraq, instead of exacerbating the Palestinian problem, would end it."

"We need many more Jews to come to Israel, a million more Jews," said Sharon, according to Novak. Immigration to Israel fell by 27 percent in the first half of 2002.

Writing in the April 24 *Daily Telegraph* of London, Israeli historian Martin van Creveld laid out the means of ending the Palestinian "problem" that Sharon has long supported—the "transfer" of perhaps 2 million Palestinians into Jordan.

"Mr. Sharon would have to wait for a suitable opportunity—such as an American offensive against Iraq," he wrote. The prime minister "himself told Colin Powell, the [U.S.] secretary of state, that America should not allow the situation in Israel to delay the operation" against Iraq.

"Should such circumstances arise," he continued, "then Israel would mobilize with lightning speed," using its submarines, armored land units, and air force to counter any possible threat of intervention by Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon—Israel's immediate

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

August 26, 1977

BOSTON—This city's Black and Puerto Rican communities have successfully asserted their right to use the public facilities at South Boston's Carson Beach. Since 1975 the beach has been the "turf" of white racists.

The fierce heat of the summer of 1977 reopened the battle. Black children from Columbia Point had been forced to play in the streets under fire hydrants to stay cool.

After several children were accidentally hit by passing cars, Blacks and Puerto Rican parents decided to use the beach.

Two days later, a screaming mob of 150 whites attacked, hurling rocks and bottles.

Cops pushed the Blacks and Puerto Ricans off the beach but didn't arrest any whites.

But the Columbia Point residents weren't frightened off. They returned later in the week. On July 28 and 29 several hundred whites, screaming, "Get the niggers of the beach," confronted a group of about forty Blacks.

This time the cops surrounded the whites. Twenty six whites were arrested.

The turnabout in the attitude of the cops

and city administration was no accident, coming only weeks after the social explosion during the blackout in New York City.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE CENTS

August 11, 1952

There has been a tide of bitter anti-American feeling running for some years now throughout the world. This has been almost completely ignored by the news services and the big dailies.

But recently a change in editorial attitude is to be noted. The immediate reason for this is the recent attack on the floor of Iran's Parliament, demanding the ouster of all Americans, particularly of the U.S. military mission.

In a July 30 editorial entitled "Why are we hated?" the N.Y. World-Telegram & Sun, chief paper of the Scripps-Howard chain, takes note of this outburst in Iran and then adds:

"It is time we were asking ourselves why so many people hate us. While Iran is an extreme case, anti-American feeling is gaining ground in most parts of the world. It is finding increasing expression in Britain and Western Europe, as well as in the so-called backward countries."

Farmers in UK prepare one-day strike

BY PAUL DAVIES

LONDON—Farmers across the United Kingdom are preparing for a one-day strike August 23, when they will withhold produce from markets and food processors for 24 hours. The action has been called by Farmers For Action, which helped to initiate protests and blockades at oil refineries in the autumn of 2000.

The protest will “highlight the disastrous situation that is now surrounding British food production,” said David Handley in a press release. Handley is a dairy farmer from Monmouthshire who chairs Farmers For Action (FFA).

“We need to get noticed,” said FFA activist Bob Robertson in a phone interview. “We may have problems getting support from some of the bigger farmers who claim that they have too much to lose, but we either all hang separately or we fight together.”

“We’re ready to throw away our milk for a day or more if we can get a fair price for what we produce,” said Brian Hewlett, whose sons run their 160-acre dairy farm near Yeovil in Somerset. Hewlett drives lorries for a local haulage firm in order to supplement the family income.

In an interview he said that declining farm income is fueling the protest. “Six years ago we were able to get 22-23p [100p=£1=US\$1.53] a liter for our milk. It dropped to 16p, rose to 18p over the past 15 months, and has now dropped even lower—to 13p. This is just not sustainable,” Hewlett said. “Farmers on average need to make 20p a liter to cover production costs—that is without hiring anyone to work for you. It is not so bad for us. We have 160 acres, but for farmers just starting up it is far worse. Somerset County Council rents 80-acre farms to those coming into the industry. Years back you could make a living from 80 acres, but not now.”

Processors impose price cuts

In order to increase their profit margins, major processors have imposed price cuts in recent months on dairy farmers. Express Dairies followed Dairy Crest and Wiseman Dairies in knocking down the price it pays to farmers in mid-July. The prices cuts are not reflected in the price working people pay for milk at shops and supermarkets.

According to a survey by farm accountants, the drop in farm incomes is slowing, but agricultural profits have slumped by 80 percent over the past five years. Profits for September 2001 to April 2002 dropped to an average £125 a hectare—down from £130 per hectare the previous 12 months. A recent National Farmers Union survey, which took into account smaller farms, found that the average farmer’s income is still only £10,000.

Because this figure is an average, the income of many working farmers remains substantially below what most other working people expect to earn over a year.

Farmers For Action organized nighttime blockades in July of Wiseman and Dairy Crest dairies in Manchester, Worcestershire, Chard, London, and Davidstow in Cornwall. In early August around 35 farmers blockaded the Wiseman’s dairy in Taunton from midnight for a few hours, Brian Hewlett said.

“My sons took part and they reported that the drivers at the dairy supported the action,” Hewlett explained. “None of them brought their lorries out. The action was a success. But the companies like to get us negotiating and stop any action so that they can drag discussions out. But we’ll keep hanging in there. We won’t give up.”

“I don’t want a grant or subsidy,” Hewlett said. “Farmers can get £80 an acre subsidy for taking land out of production, for doing nothing. That is wrong. But I do want farmers to get a price for what we produce that allows us to live off what we do and make enough to reinvest—that is all.”

Following threats of protests by a different group of farmers on August 12, the government’s agricultural department DEFRA has agreed to relax rules that re-

strict farmers’ ability to sell recently purchased livestock. These were imposed in the wake of the crisis created by government restrictions following the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease last year. DEFRA has agreed that sheep and cattle used for breeding this season, which go into a strict on-farm isolation facility for 20 days on arrival, will not lock up the rest of the farm’s livestock.

Jonathan Barber, a Norfolk farmer who is the spokesperson for the group that’s behind the threatened protest, said for the moment he was urging farmers to stay at home. “We’ve got as much as we can at this stage,” he said. “A combination of pressure and negotiation has helped us tremendously, providing that the anomalies are sorted out and the new rules are brought in at the right time.”

The August 23 one-day strike does not have the support of the National Farmers Union, the largest farmers organization in the UK, which is dominated by the interests of wealthier capitalist farmers. The FFA notes, however, that as farmers prepare for the action support is widening, including from the National Pig and National Beef Association and from farmers in Ireland.

The FFA is calling on farmers to donate produce that they would have taken to market on the day of the strike to the Food For Africa charity. “As farmers we are fully aware of the tragic situation that is taking place on the African continent with the famine that is taking thousands of lives weekly,” said the organization’s press statement.

“The supermarkets may attempt to prepare as well, by stocking up in advance, but we have to do something to draw attention

Australian ‘antiterror’ laws infringe on rights

BY DOUG COOPER

SYDNEY, Australia—Five bills that are part of the conservative government’s assault on workers’ rights—packaged as “antiterror” laws—won final parliamentary approval on June 27. The government of Prime Minister John Howard had in-principle backing from the Australian Labor Party, the major opposition party. The Greens, Australian Democrats, One Nation, and independents opposed the bills.

A major aspect of one of the five bills, which would have amended existing spying laws to enable the government to intercept and read e-mail and SMS and voice mail messages without a warrant, was rejected. A warrant would have remained necessary to eavesdrop on phone calls. While senators on the government benches also voted against the spy measure, it may be reintroduced in the future.

A sixth bill was passed in April and a seventh has yet to be acted on. Passage of the eighth bill, which would greatly strengthen the powers of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), the government’s domestic-spying organization, was delayed for a second time until the next sitting of Parliament, which begins August 19.

Examples of ASIO’s key role in the rulers’ attacks on workers’ rights keep coming to light as people go public with their refusal to accept victimization.

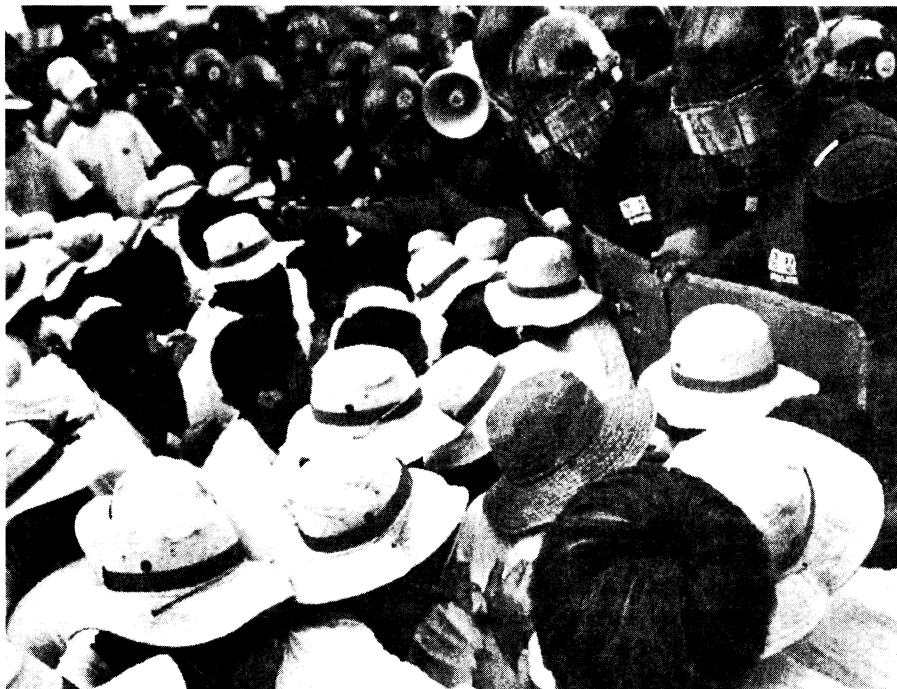
Denial of passport

Zak Mallah, an 18-year-old worker of Lebanese Muslim background from Sydney, applied in May to have his passport renewed so he could travel to Lebanon. Two weeks after his application he was interviewed by ASIO agents, who then recommended to Minister for Foreign Affairs Alexander Downer that Mallah’s application be denied on “security” grounds.

A June 7 letter from the government stated that Downer “has formed the opinion that you are likely to engage in conduct that might prejudice the security of Australia or of a foreign country.”

Mallah, who is appealing the government’s decision, described the interrogation. “I said that I am not a politician

Youth in Korea protest U.S. troops



Students led a rally near the U.S. embassy in Seoul, south Korea, August 13 to demand withdrawal of the 37,000 U.S. troops stationed in the country. U.S. forces have been in south Korea for more than five decades.

to what is happening to farming,” said Bob Robertson. According to the FFA press release, “If we are not listened to we intend to escalate this action over the coming months. Plans are already afoot for action through-

out the autumn and winter period. We will be calling on all of the 128 so-called bodies that speak on behalf of agriculture to back this strike.”

Paul Davies works at a meatpacking plant in London.

and that I don’t know much about politics,” he said. “Then they asked me about religious violence and I said it depends on whether you mean a ‘holy war,’ which is a battle, or killing innocents without warning.” Mallah said he told the ASIO agents that he regarded Osama bin Laden as a “Muslim brother” but didn’t support acts such as the September 11 attacks in the United States.

Mallah said he told them it was animosity over U.S. support for Tel Aviv’s repression of Palestinians that was the motivation for those attacks. He explained the agents asked if he would ever engage in political or religious violence. He told them, “No. I have never even thought of doing that.”

The New South Wales Council for Civil Liberties has taken up his case. Cameron Murphy, the organization’s president, noted Mallah’s situation was part of a pattern of discrimination against people of Middle Eastern background. “This would not have happened to [Mallah] if his name was Smith or Jones,” he said.

A spokeswoman for the Foreign Affairs Department admitted in late June that four passports have been canceled or refused on security grounds in the past 12 months.

‘Shining Path’

Another example of arbitrary actions by the government came to light in early March. James Milne, a Melbourne pub owner and music entrepreneur, learned in early January that the reason checks from his music business, called Shining Path, had begun to bounce was that his accounts had been frozen by his bank on government orders. Milne had neither advance warning nor any formal opportunity to appeal the government’s or bank’s actions.

The Peruvian Shining Path is among those named by the attorney general and foreign minister in December 2001 as “terrorist organizations” whose assets are to be frozen. The freeze on Milne’s accounts was lifted after he complained to the Melbourne *Herald Sun*, with Downer admitting a case of mistaken identity.

The six bills already passed include many draconian and sweeping provisions. A “terrorist act” is defined to include acts commit-

ted with the intention of causing serious harm to an individual or a serious risk to the health and safety of the public. While strikes, protests, and other forms of dissent are nominally exempt, government-concocted frame-ups based on the vague definition of “intent” and supposed “risk to public health and safety” will be easier to engineer.

Other measures include the attorney general having the power to proscribe organizations listed by the United Nations Security Council as “terrorist.” Proscription on this basis would not be subject to review by the courts but only a review by Parliament, though the courts would also have their own proscription power. Membership alone in a proscribed organization carries a 15-year prison term. Some “terrorist” offenses will carry different penalties depending on whether they were committed “knowingly” or through “recklessness.”

Treason is redefined in the new laws to include support, except humanitarian assistance, for organizations or countries in conflict with the Australian military and carries a life jail term. Failing to report someone who is committing “treason” to the authorities can also mean a life sentence.

“For the first time it will be a specific offence to commit a terrorist act, provide or receive training connected with terrorist acts, possess things or collect or make documents connected with a terrorist act, and to do any other thing in planning or preparing for a terrorist act.... And hefty penalties of up to 25 years’ jail await those who direct, recruit for, train for or with, get funds to or from, or provide support to a terrorist organisation,” a June 27 media release by Attorney General Daryl Williams crowed.

“Our ability to deal with terrorist financing will be enhanced with increased penalties for providing assets to those engaged in terrorist activity,” it continued.

The ability to freeze assets is now codified into law, with the foreign minister able to list individuals and organizations as “terrorist” and freeze their assets without being subject to review by Parliament.

Doug Cooper is a member of the Maritime Union of Australia.